

STUDIES IN
CHINESE RELIGION

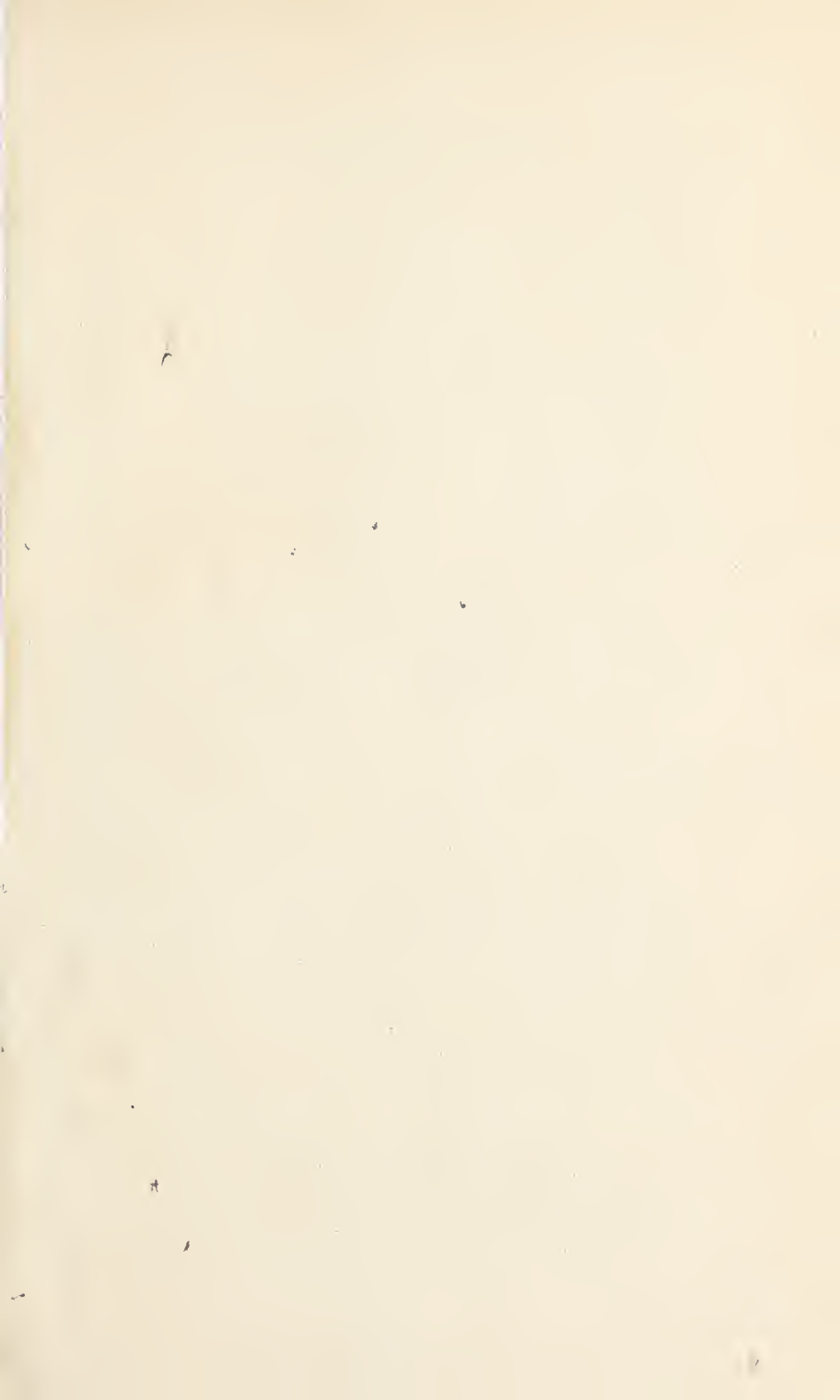
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1. UP THE YANG-TSZE. 1-306, 8vo. *China Mail Office*, Hong Kong.
2. TRAVELS IN MONGOLIA. *Phoenix*, 1870-71. [Out of print.]
3. TRAVELS IN CHÈH KIANG AND FUH KIEN. *N.C. Branch Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, vol. xix, part i, pp. 27-93.
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6. REPORTS ON ANNAM FOR FOREIGN OFFICE. No. 5657 of 1888. [Not on sale.]
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- 19A. ANCIENT CHINA SIMPLIFIED. Chapman & Hall, 1908.

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20. VARIOUS PAPERS UPON THE HANKOW DIALECT, CANTON Dialect, Peking Tones, Hakka Dialect, Foochow Dialect, Wênchow Dialect, Yangchow Dialect, Ningpo Dialect, and Sz-ch'wan Dialect, with Tables for each. *China Review*, 1875-85.
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22. INTRODUCTORY ESSAY TO GILES' CHINESE-ENGLISH DICTIONARY, with Dialect Forms under each of 12,000 Characters.
23. THE ANCIENT CHINESE BOWL IN THE SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM. *T'oung Pao*, Oct. 1909.

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27. THE RELIGION OF THE CHINESE. *New Century Review*, 1899.
28. CONFUCIUS. Oriental College, Woking, 1896.
29. NESTORIAN INSCRIPTION OF SI-AN FU. *Dublin Review*, Oct. 1902.
30. TAOISM AND THE TAO-TÊH-KING. *Dublin Review*, July and Oct. 1903, and Jan. 1904.
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32. POPULATION AND REVENUE OF CHINA. *Otia Mersiana*, University College, Liverpool, 1899.
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STUDIES IN
CHINESE RELIGION





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THE TEMPLE OF THE EMPEROR YÜ (2200 B.C.), OUTSIDE THE EAST GATE OF K'AI-FÉNG FU,
HO NAN PROVINCE.

Frontispiece.

STUDIES IN CHINESE RELIGION

BY

E. H. PARKER, M.A.

PROFESSOR OF CHINESE AT THE VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER



FOURTEEN ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

THE contents of this book may be described in the main as the original studies from which a summary was made and a popular work published, in 1905, called *China and Religion*: at least these studies suggested the compilation of such a work. It was thought better not to encumber *China and Religion* with too many references, proper names, and "intensive" matter generally. The present studies are now republished, with a few alterations and additions almost necessitated for clearness' sake by changes that have since taken place, and it is hoped they will be of some utility as vouchers for previous statements of fact made in more general terms for popular consumption. A few photographs are added by way of illustration. These republished studies do not by any means cover the whole ground taken in *China and Religion*;—for instance, I had published no previous special studies of Manicheism, Judaïsm, or Shintōism, but composed the chapters on those subjects in 1905 directly from notes I had gradually stored, and from the works of others who had already nearly exhausted the matter available for study, and had published the results of their labours. With these few remarks I commit the subject of Religion in China in a new form to the tribunal of public opinion. I have been requested to make special mention of the fact that the paper on "Chinese Blessedness" is republished from Dr. James Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion* (Dr. Hastings having himself desired that peculiar title). I have also been invited by Mr. J. A. Jackson to call attention to his copyright in certain photographs.

E. H. PARKER.

14 Gambier Terrace,
Liverpool.

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PART I
THE OLD CHINESE SPIRITUAL LIFE

CHINESE RELIGIONS

CHAPTER I

THE REAL RELIGION OF THE CHINESE

THERE are many hazy opinions abroad upon the subject of Chinese religion or irreligion. In books we may read the most learned disquisitions on the Buddhist, Taoist, and other doctrines. In the course of this work, an examination will be made into the history of both Taoism and Chinese Buddhism; but it will be much more to the purpose, in the first instance, to inquire what is the actual condition of the Chinese mind at this moment, and how far that mind is practically swayed by religious sentiment of any kind. In order to do this, the most satisfactory way will be to take the Chinese, province by province, as I have myself actually seen them, leaving it to the reader to make his own general deductions.

During a residence of over two years in Peking I was much thrown into "religious" society. It is the custom there for all Europeans who can afford it, and whose occupations permit of their absenting themselves, to retire to "the hills" towards the end of May. There they remain until the beginning of October, riding in to town once a week or so, should business require it; but as a general rule transacting their affairs at the temples. Most of these temples are dotted about the Western Hills, and are collectively known as *Pa Ta-ch'u*, or "Eight Great Places"; but there are others farther north, towards the Ming Tombs; farther south, over the Lou-k'ou Bridge—the first northern railway terminus; and farther east, in the vicinity of the Imperial Summer Palace, which the Allies destroyed in 1860. Amongst them are two or three nunneries. I visited the whole of these religious establishments at various times, and spent one or

two months consecutively in half-a-dozen of them, so that I had ample opportunity to study the priestly character. As a rule, I found the priests a quiet, harmless, and respectable set of men. It was quite the exception for one to possess any learning, even in Chinese; whereas, I never met a single man who had any notion of the meaning of the Tibetan prayers which are recited daily from clumsy transcriptions in Chinese character. The nuns were in most cases totally unlettered, as Chinese women in the north usually are. Both priests and nuns shave the whole head. The social position of priests in the neighbourhood of Peking is hard to define. Their calling is universally despised, and they are almost invariably spoken of with good-natured contempt. If they are treated with politeness—as they always are, so long as they observe decorum—it is not so much on account of the sanctity of their cloth, as because it is the social practice for mutual strangers in China, on all occasions, to accost each other politely where no adverse interests are involved. Perhaps their position would be best defined by comparing them with the illiterate vergers who habitually conduct strangers round the abbeys and cathedrals of England, enlarging here and there upon events in English history, or upon the mysteries of “Decorated,” “Perpendicular,” and other architecture. The Chinese priest offers a cup of tea to most “patrons,” and expects to be “tipped” for it; as also for any other little services he may render, such as lighting a candle, burning a paper prayer, casting a divining rod, and so on. He is generally able to converse intelligently upon the crops, the weather, the market prices of food, fodder, and tobacco; he is as shrewd and competent as any of his lay countrymen in the matter of striking a bargain; and if he is treated rudely he is quite as good a hand at “billingsgate” as the average peasant. Very often he is also the village school-master, and, as such, possesses a certain amount of pedagogic influence along with his elementary scholarship. As the owner, or manager, of fairly extensive glebes, he is likewise to be counted with as an employer of labour and a dealer in produce. Even more, his ghostly calling, though regarded somewhat contemptuously, gives him a certain influence in the village councils, partly because he is usually an elderly man, and partly because he is not troubled

with parents, wife, or children ; and enjoying, as he does, a well-defined financial position, is therefore able to take a more colourless view of petty local disputes than would a common rustic or local tradesman. In China there is no such thing as a "gentleman" ; but, so far as any refinement of manner can give colourable title to that status, a priest is generally coarse, and the reverse of a "gentleman." I found that all priests abstained—unless tempted—not only from meat and wine, but very often also from the "savories," such as garlic, onions, scallions, chives, etc. Most of them used tobacco freely, both in the form of snuff and in that of smoke. One or two well-to-do specimens smoked opium, but always in decent privacy. As the leading priests were, in the majority of instances, old men, the question of private morals seldom came to the fore ; as to the younger men, they were not, as a rule, well spoken of ; but whatever indiscretions they may have committed were carefully veiled and kept out of sight. It is the custom for the *fang-chang*—the abbot, or managing priest—to have one or two boys attached to his person as learners or acolytes. In due time these boys, who are often "adopted," look forward to the abbatial succession. Ghostly influence, except as above described, the priests have none ; nor have they any comforting or solacing family or social influence. At funerals, or during plagues, dearths, portents, etc., their services are professionally called for, always in exchange for a money payment ;—that is all. In other respects their moral character stands no higher than that of the lay villager, who also, in most cases, is an industrious, decent individual. It must not be supposed that the corruption of which one hears so much is universal. The "means to do ill deeds" are not often at hand in the country districts, where private life is ordinarily quite amiable. Most of the priests at "the hills" enjoy more than ordinary affluence and personal consideration, by reason of the visits they frequently receive from imperial princes and nobles, palace eunuchs, and officials on a visit to the capital, and such-like persons of wealth and distinction out for a day's private holiday, or sent on an official mission to pray for rain, fine weather, the birth of a son and heir, etc., etc. In the Yangtze provinces, from the sea all the way up to Sz Ch'wan, I found that the priests were distinctly below

the not very high level of the Peking bonzes in credit and respectability. There is much more travelling in the central parts of China, and priests seem to wander extensively from one monastery to the other. The range of dialects is such as to make them all fairly comprehensible to one another, whereas around Peking a special dialect is spoken, which, though easily understood by persons of education and intelligence along the Great River, is yet sufficiently different to make the northern speakers feel away from home.

The Chinese have a saying—

“When ill, embrace Buddha’s feet,
When well, neglect to burn incense ;”

which means very much the same as our

“When the devil was ill, the devil a saint would be ;
When the devil was well, the devil a saint was he.”

This, indeed, is the usual attitude of the Chinese mind with regard to religion. The Buddhist priests maintain a passive attitude, and attempt no proselytizing. In no part of China have I ever found that the hope of happiness or fear of punishment in another world (though both are taught by Buddhism) exercised the slightest influence over personal conduct. There is, indeed, a very strong feeling that if a gross neglect of family duty be committed, or a serious offence against clan interests, spiritual vengeance may overtake the guilty in the shape of unappeased ghosts, neglect by one’s own children to maintain a decent burial-ground, and so on ; or that during life there may be retribution in the shape of sick or dead children, poverty, ill-luck, and such-like ; but this feeling has little, if anything, to do with the doctrines of Buddhism, and dates from a time long anterior to the appearance of Indian missionaries in China. The fact is that, whatever may have been the conflicting influences of Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism at different periods of Chinese history, the residue of religious sentiment which has survived is nothing more than the ancient Shāmanism of the Tartars, of which Taoism was the Chinese refined form, coupled with the strong ancestral feeling so peculiar to the Chinese, and here and there tinged with Buddhist, and possibly Manichean, conceits. Shāmanism may be



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WORSHIPPING A SACRED TREE (HIDDEN BY BANNERS) AT A ROADSIDE SHRINE NEAR
T'AI-YÜAN FU, SHAN-SI PROVINCE.

defined as the natural superstition common to all uninstructed mankind, until such time as artificial dogma or social philosophy shall have competed with it. Man sees that fellow-man is the only visible force possessing at once the will and the intelligence to do good and harm to him ; and therefore he invests all other mysterious powers or phenomena—such as wind, sunshine, rain, darkness, eclipses, cold, etc.—with the nearest imaginable copy of the only will and intelligence with which he is ocularly familiar : in other words, with human attributes. Even we moderns, in our feeble human presumption, have got no further than to imagine ourselves to be shaped like the Deity. To a certain extent animals possess the same will as men, if not the same intelligence ; and, in some measure, animals are therefore likewise invested by the Chinese with imaginary powers over Nature. During the course of the year 1896 the Emperor, on the proposition of the Board of Rites, directed the viceroys of provinces to assemble, with their suites, in mourning dress, and “ save the sun ” from being devoured by the dog of popular imagination during the eclipse of that year, which, absurdly enough, the Board at the same time announced would take place on a given date between certain hours and minutes. As the Chinaman walks through the forest at night, he whistles or sings to frighten the “ ghosts ” away. When a plague overtakes a town, fires are lit and crackers exploded to drive off the evil spirits. Prayers are offered for rain and fine weather, as with us. I was myself once attacked because my unholy presence had kept the rain away. There is a considerable amount of disguised *linga* worship, especially in the south of China ; and in any case prayers for children, offered up by women, are common enough in every province. The adoration or appeasement which the Chinese “ believer ” is thus always ready to offer up to the dead or to spirits, in the hope of obtaining immediate advantage or escaping imminent injury thereby, differs in only a very slight degree from the same ceremonies offered to a living individual. The average Chinaman is always ready to fling himself on the ground and *kow-tow* to any person possessing the power to reward or injure him. Chinese prayers and sacrifices are commonplace and practical. There is nothing ethereal, imaginative, ecstatic, sublime, or in any way holy

about them ; it is simply, like all other Chinese transactions, a question of bargaining or money's worth. They even thrash their gods if no results come of persistent prayer. The Emperor himself "rewards" the gods frequently if their succour comes sharp ; and in one instance I remember reading a decree instructing the Governor to admonish a lazy deity. The Empress-Dowager of China a few years ago issued an order ordering Buddhist priests to pray for rain at one temple and Taoists at another. In the same way, at Singapore, there is an annual custom of visiting a certain Portuguese church, in which a statue of the Virgin Mary is devoutly worshipped by the pagans, on account of some alleged miraculous services rendered many years ago to some local worthy who prayed to her. The priest himself told me this, and assured me that it had nothing whatever to do with the ordinary converts, but was an annual pagan proceeding, which the Church was only too glad to encourage.

I found the southern Chinese, especially those in Canton province, very much more religious than the northerners, at least so far as outward observances are concerned. Every house in the town has, in addition to the usual internal Russian icon-like shrines (even these are much neglected in the north), a neat little stone niche at the porch in the street ; and every morning and evening tapers or candles are ignited here. The great Canton autumn festival of "All Souls," as it is usually called by foreigners, is one of the sights of the world. Miles of streets are festooned with lamps, and hung with groups of the most gorgeously and richly dressed images. One of my servants died whilst I was living inside the native city, and although my "chief butler" was a northerner, and, as such, almost totally destitute of religious feeling, yet it was decided by the servants as a body (as much for my sake as for theirs) to have a couple of priests in to perform two days' services round the coffin. The butler in question was of a purely agnostic temperament, with no "morals" of any kind ; and yet he always abstained with more than religious zeal from the use of spirituous liquors and tobacco, and for more than twenty years sent home half his wages to his mother. On the death of his wife, who was a lunatic, he remarried, and kept his new wife with him ; she was a southerner, and was

readily allowed by her lord to set up her own "joss." I was at fixed periods the chief subject of her prayers ; these, so far as I could make out, were not for the welfare of my soul, but for my health and long life, in order that the flow of wages might ever go on.

Although external religion is more in evidence in the south than in the north of China, the priests are decidedly of a lower caste. Many of them are stated to be, and have the appearance of being, debased criminals who have fled to the monastery as to a sort of Alsatia or sanctuary. Though I believe the law recognizes no such immunity, popular custom gives the necessary sanction ; and as the law is never put into force by the mandarins for private offences except on the application of individuals, the right of sanctuary may for all practical purposes be said to exist. A guilty priest is sometimes punished by the local executive, sitting with the local ecclesiastical authority. Here and elsewhere one may see the priests cremated ; but although Marco Polo often speaks of burning the dead, such a custom no longer exists, except in the case of priests. The morals of the Canton priests are either very bad or are much suspected, for the local authorities have had, in recent years, to issue very frequent proclamations forbidding women to visit the temples ; and, indeed, a few years ago one of the finest monasteries in Canton was burnt down by an enraged mob, owing to some real or fancied misconduct of the priests during a popular " woman's holiday." When I was at Canton, I made the acquaintance of the Taoist " Pope," who had come in his boat all the way from " Dragon Tiger Hill " in Kiang Si. He was sixty-first in direct descent from Chang Tao-ling, who was ennobled by the Han Emperors of China nearly 2000 years ago, and took up his residence on the mountain in question : he is stated to have " ascended into Heaven " at the " Egret Screaming Hill " in Sz Ch'wan. A thousand years later, the Sung Emperors conferred extensive estates upon the family. The soul of each deceased Pope is supposed to pass by transmigration into the body of some junior member of the family. This man, whose name was Chang Jên-chêng, was well educated and intelligent : he had discussed religion with several Protestant missionaries, and was good enough to write me a " charm." Shortly after that I left Canton ; but the agnostic butler

valued the charm so highly that I allowed him to paste it over the door of my house in Sz Ch'wan : possibly for that reason my house was attacked by a mob, and I narrowly escaped ; or perhaps Chang Jên-chêng would argue that I should not have escaped at all if the charm had not been there.

Every Chinese year is under the protection of a tutelary god, who takes his turn in rotation. In prefaces to books, the name of the yearly god is usually given, in addition to the ordinary dates. At the spring festivals special attention is paid to the shrine of this deity. In many places it is the custom to "see the old year safely out." In the island of Hainan, I particularly noticed that old clothes and old furniture were cast into ponds at this time, and with that object in view. The Cathay Tartars, who ruled North China a thousand years ago, used on the first day of the new year to roast salt inside the tent, whilst sorcerers walked round it : the floor was sprinkled with it to drive the rats away, "and frighten off the devils."

One of the strangest "religious" feelings in China is the sentiment against desecrating paper which has writing upon it. This prejudice does not extend to non-Chinese writing. In 1882 an Imperial decree even forbade the manufacture in Peking of new paper from manuscript or printed waste paper. In the streets of most towns are boxes for the reception of waste fragments marked "for respectful saving of documentary papers." This sentiment undoubtedly partakes of a religious feeling, and is somewhat akin to the repugnance the most cynical Christian would have towards utilizing the Bible for wrapping up cheese or butcher's meat. The idea is reverence for the instrument by which the great thoughts of antiquity were conveyed to mankind. In one city I came across an official proclamation issued by the Provincial Judge. In it he strictly forbade the manufacture of "resurrection paper" from old documents, and even offered rewards to informers. In the same way documents could not be used to repair walls, windows, or shoes ; it was forbidden to stamp shoe-soles with a written trade-mark, for "nothing could be more disrespectful than to imprint characters upon receptacles for the feet." In Japan I noticed that it gave offence even to point at objects lying on the mat with the feet, as foreigners are apt to do.

There is also a pretty generally diffused prejudice in China against using cattle for food : it is not akin to the Hindoo sentiment (although, as a matter of fact, the latter may originally have been based upon the same principle); it is the expression of a feeling of gratitude for the ox, to whose labours in the field man owes so much : possibly it is Manichean, for between 631 and 843 that religion had a great vogue in many provinces. Since the advent of Europeans, who insist upon having their beef, this prejudice has somewhat abated, at all events near the treaty ports ; but it is frequently resuscitated in times of drouth and distress, and a hostile feeling is often officially fostered by the mandarins, whose sole apparent motive appears to be to make themselves cheaply offensive to the foreigner. The Chinese have no scruple in eating beef from an ox which has died a natural death. To save the trouble of burying them, the carcasses of diseased cattle are often thrown into rivers, under pretext that to bury them would be to corrupt the soil : the result sometimes is that the fish grow maggoty and breed cholera.

The sanctity of oaths is scarcely realized in China, at least so far as depositions in a court of justice are concerned. True, a makeshift oath of doubtful genuineness has been devised for use in British courts of justice ; but it is absurd to put the technicalities of the Western law of perjury into force with such an untruthful nation as the Chinese. The Chinese seem to observe family vows with fair fidelity, and also such genuine oaths as are involved in secret associations or private friendships. The custom of blood-letting, *i. e.* sucking or drinking a few drops of each other's blood, is very common as a sanction. The sprinkling of chicken's blood is also a phenomenon I frequently noticed during my travels, in connection with exorcising, consulting oracles, etc. A cock is almost invariably carried in an open basket by boatmen, and the bird's throat is cut at dangerous rapids in order to propitiate Neptune (*Deus fluvialis*).

The strongest of all religious feelings in China, which, like most of those we have above described, has nothing whatever to do with Buddhism, is that of reverence for one's predecessors. It is weaker in the extreme north than in the south ; but that is only natural, when we consider the secular influence

of the Tartars, many of whom still despise the old and neglect the dead. Notwithstanding this, the feeling may be described as universal. The idea seems to be that each human being is merely a link in the endless family chain, and that if ancestral sacrifices be neglected, or male heirs not forthcoming, the continuity of existence will be broken. Thus it is that, however common infanticide may be, male children are never murdered. Unmarried females being an almost unknown phenomenon in China, and a woman ceasing on marriage to belong to her father's family, women are regarded much in the light of merchandise. In the same way, the continuity of existence is broken by the loss of a limb; hence the deeply-rooted objection to surgical operations. In the whole empire it is hardly possible to find a Chinaman with but one arm or leg. A criminal naturally dislikes execution, and strangulation is much more painful than decapitation; yet with the head on the shoulders one can always make a presentable appearance in the world to come. That world, according to the Chinaman's inborn notions, is simply a repetition of the present one, and nothing more: the same mandarins, "squeezes," pleasures, and evils. The idea in sacrificing to the spirits is to keep them quiet in their new sphere, and to prevent them from coming back to "howl" for assistance. Even the Emperor, in conferring posthumous honours, invariably winds up with the words, "and this in order to comfort the migrated soul." So far as a Chinese has any anticipations of future bliss, he simply contemplates a repetition of his present experiences. If he is a bad man here, he will be one there; hence he conforms his conduct to spiritual good just so far as he does so with a view of gaining human credit on earth, and no further. There is no dread of death, except in so far that it is painful and a sad severance. Though the Buddhist stories of Heaven and Hell are freely repeated, no Chinaman seriously believes them, nor is his conduct ever motivated, as it is with Christians, by hopes and fears of what may happen in a future life.

The true attitude of the intelligent classes towards religion is that officially laid down by the Emperor Tao-kwang, great-grandfather of the present Emperor. It is in effect: "All religions are nonsense; but the silly people have always believed in ghosts and after-life, and, therefore, in order to conciliate

popular feeling, we are disposed to protect every belief, including Christianity, so long as there is no interference with the old-established customs of the State." The last clause was also uttered to the Jesuits in 1690 by the Emperor K'ang-hi. Confucius had no religion, and even declined to discuss the question ; his system is revered simply as the embodiment of decency and order. From our point of view there is a slight touch of priggishness about it ; but, anyway, it is the Chinese version of " the religion of a gentleman," even though the gentlemen may not exist in large numbers. As to the popular attitude towards religion, it need not be discussed at all from an academical point of view, being simply a bundle of ignorant prejudices. From a practical point of view it is, of course, extremely important, for it is by no means a matter of indifference to us that the Chinese peasant or labourer should imagine that we use babies' eyes for photography, indulge in monstrous immoralities, despise our ancestors, play religious tricks with convert women, and such-like things. These superstitions are not grosser or more dangerous than were the Middle-Age notions current in Europe touching witchery, heresy, or supernatural agency ; nor are they sillier than the Russo-Austro-Franco-German prejudices against the Jews. It is simply a question of education ; not only of book-learning ; but also of good roads, travel, commerce, interchange of thought, kind treatment, and reasonable concession on our own side.

Buddhism was first heard of in China eighteen hundred and forty years ago (A.D. 65). Some tell the following story, which is less accurate : China (about 130 B.C.) was at war with the Scythians, and her envoy, who had been sent to the Pamir region to try and create a diversion against these fierce Tartars, heard, whilst in Afghanistan, of India and its *fout'u* faith. This is the modern pronunciation of two Chinese syllables, which then spelt the sound *Vuddhu*, or " Budh," and which are still pronounced in Japan *Bodz*—our English word " bonze." A hundred years later the Indo-Scythian King reigning in the Udjana and Balkh region, orally communicated the Buddhist canon to a Chinese envoy, or traveller ; and this is the very first the Chinese ever heard of images or precise teachings.—The real facts are that, in A.D. 62, in consequence of a vision, the Chinese Emperor sent to India for a copy of the canon,

which was brought back, together with some missionaries, and duly translated. The Emperor's brother became a devotee ; but the faith was soon discredited. Another hundred years passed, and missionaries from India, *viâ* Turkestan, came trooping steadily in. Shrines were erected in the palace, monasteries were built, and by A.D. 220, five thousand families had been converted. China had now been divided into the northern or Tartar-ruled empire, and the southern or native-ruled. Both patronized Buddhism, as also did the minor rulers of those western parts of China now known as Yün Nan and Sz Ch'wan, which had then extensive commercial and political relations with Burma (then called Byu), Siam (then in Yün Nan, and called Nan Chao or Luk-Tai), and India. In the fifth century the Scythians became once more powerful ; they ruled North China, and were strong supporters of Buddhism. Buddôchinga and Kumârajîva, amongst other Hindoo bonzes, exercised a commanding Court influence. The modern Chinkiang became the great Buddhist centre of the southern dynasty. The priests now became shamefully degenerate, overweening, luxurious, and immoral, and in A.D. 446 they were hunted from their monasteries throughout the Tartar empire of the north. But they soon regained their influence, and, under the guidance of one Bôdhidharma, the southern or Chinese Emperor became quite a religious sot. In A.D. 588 his successor of the Ch'ên dynasty actually sold himself to Buddha as a slave. Meanwhile, the Tartar Emperor solemnly proclaimed Confucianism as ranking before Buddhism ; Taoism came last in rank (Taoism may be described as a philosophical mysticism, mixed with alchemy and charlatanism in its later forms). The Sui Emperors, who reunited China under one rule, were robust supporters of Buddhism ; but under the T'ang dynasty there was a good deal of scepticism and persecution. Emperors alternated between slavish adoration and brutal scepticism. In 839 there were 265,000 monks and nuns in the empire ; in 845 nearly all the monasteries were destroyed, including those of the Manicheans, Nestorians, and Mazdéans. Neither the Cathayan nor the Golden Tartar dynasties of North China did much for or against Buddhism ; but the Mongols supported all religions. Kublai was greatly under the influence of the Tibetan priest, Pagspa. The later Mongol



BURMESE CHILDREN LISTENING TO THE RELIGIOUS TEACHING OF P'UNG'YIS OR PRIESTS.

[To face p. 14.]

Emperors were poor superstitious creatures, and may be said to have been dynastically ruined by pandering to grossly corrupt Buddhism. The native Chinese dynasty of Ming, which succeeded the Mongols, and reigned until the Manchus conquered China, 260 years ago, kept Buddhism within strict bounds. In 1430 the Emperor said: "In our own day men are as superstitious as ever." A century later one of his successors burnt all Buddhist sanctuaries in the palace precincts, destroyed all books and images, and pitched the holy relics away. One, however, is still in existence, under a *stûpa* near the Marble Bridge of Peking. The Manchus have from the first made intelligent use of Buddhism as a political lever, and the Emperor reserves to himself the right to sanction the transmigration of "souls."

CHAPTER II

RELIGION IN CHINA

IT is not easy for us who, however lax our religious practice may have become in Europe, are none the less imbued with hereditary religious instincts, to conceive of a state of human society where religious feeling, as we understand it, did not exist at all. In ancient China, as in modern China, the popular notions may have had an interest from the point of view of folk-lore, but they had no more influence upon philosophical thought than the petty ambitions of the cultivator, the chaff-er, or the artisan had upon the contending dynastic interests of the oligarchy. In assuming the existence of philosophical thought, we are here speaking only of the ruling classes, whose minds alone shaped the empire's course. From the dawn of intelligible Chinese history, statecraft—of which law, religion, morals, and social order were only regarded as branches—was the sole supporting trunk of human society, and it may be defined as the Law of God, the Law of Nature, or the Law of Heaven, as ascertained objectively by the contemplation of ever-changing life, ever-varying movement, and as ascertained subjectively by the Vicar of God, the Mouthpiece of Nature, the Vicegerent of Heaven, *i. e.* by the Emperor or Supreme King of the World; in other words, by the elected Ruler of China, or the hereditary Ruler representing the originally elected one.

Subject, of course, to the modern revolutionary thoughts of the past few years, this simple idea is the sole religious idea engrained in the Chinese mind, and it is quite as obstinate as our own root-conceptions upon the subject of religion; to doubt which, not to say to attack which, many or most of us consider to be shameful and blasphemous. Although a disturbing leaven is now working a change in the huge mental

mass of China, many of the highest intellects are notwithstanding in serious doubt, and most of the responsible minds are at least convinced of the necessity of caution in introducing change ; for it must be remembered that the Chinese principles of life, whatever their defects, have, at any rate, produced a social system which, alone amongst such, has endured practically unchanged for 2000 or 3000 years, and which has steadily maintained its vitality in a good quarter of the whole human race.

There is only one conception of after-life in the Chinese mind as unaffected by Buddhism, Islām, Christianity, or other foreign religion imported from time to time. That conception is of a life exactly like the present life. As the objective body remains here in the grave, the Chinese of course have been forced, like ourselves, to imagine a spiritual continuation of some sort. Whilst we have only imagined a spiritual state of bliss (or of torture), in which divine, diabolical, and human beings all alike take human form, with perhaps the addition of wings (for the muscular working of which, however, no provision is made), the Chinese have imagined not only a spiritual state—minus the divine and diabolical forms—in human guise, but also a perfectly natural human life, unencumbered or unaided by wings, in which the loves and hates, the passions and the motives of this world are simply repeated in the next or the last. In fact there is only one life ; the past, the present, and the future being merely stages of one and the same unsevered existence ; very much as Shakespeare's infancy, youth, manhood, maturity, and senility are merely stages of that earthly existence which is all before our eyes. Before we ridicule or blame the Chinese for their simplicity in imagining things spiritual to be merely a *replica* of things carnal, we must ask ourselves whether we are more reasonable in imagining impossible extra limbs and a dreary, futile way of spending the time. As we and the Chinese both rank ourselves first amongst living things on earth, our imagination in both cases, accordingly, is driven by ignorance to the assumption that no forms of intelligence superior to the human can exist in that life which is not earthly ; surely, then, the Chinese are to be commended, rather than blamed, for not speculating one iota beyond their earthly experience ?

The most ancient Chinese philosophers, Confucius included, whilst unable to account for the mystery of life, and whilst thus perforce accepting in a loose, vague way the popular superstition or imaginative tradition of a previous life and a future life, have never taken this unknown factor too seriously. They elected to speak of the subject with decent awe when it was necessary to speak of it at all ; but they preferred to give a wide berth to a subject on which there was no human or direct information attainable. As Confucius himself said in effect : “ We know little enough of ourselves as men ; how are we likely, then, to obtain a better knowledge of what we once were and afterwards shall be ? ” The Chinese notion of our human life on earth is that it begins, not at what we Europeans call birth, but at conception. Experience shows that birth, instead of following the average, may either be premature, or may be prolonged for and even beyond ten months ; it is thus physically impossible to calculate the exact number of days ; and therefore a safe, if rough, average is taken in calculating age. If a child is born on the last day of the year, he has, apart from some unexplained existence in a former life, certainly existed in invisible and incomplete carnal form on earth for the greater half of a year ; consequently he is in his second year the day after his birth ; that is, he is then *entitled* to say : “ I am two years old.” On the other hand, if he is born on the first day of the year, it will be nearly a whole year before he is entitled to say : “ I am two years old ” ; and thus two individuals, born within a few minutes of each other, may differ one whole year in the computation of age ; or, if born nearly a year apart, they may have exactly the same nominal age. No matter how a year be computed, it must contain a winter and a summer solstice, and the most prematurely born living child must have passed two solstices in the womb.

Having thus got a life, the next question was—and is, in spite of all imported religions—How are we to deal with this life ? Dynasty after dynasty has taken over the answer to this question from its predecessor. Here, again, it may be more satisfactory to quote Confucius: “The dynasty (1756–1122 B.C.) preceding that under which we live (1122–255 B.C.) continued the abstract principles of that before it (2205–1766 B.C.), and handed over the same principles to the dynasty

now reigning." Thus the Book of Rites, or Book of Abstract Principles—whatever its exact history in the form we now have it—has never been organically changed. It of itself, or by its commentators, may therefore be allowed to define these principles: "What the dynasties carried over from each other was (1) the three fundamental relations, and (2) the five general virtues." Or, again: "Love of kin, respect for superiors, deference to age, a proper distance between sexes; in these things the people must ever remain without change." As the most learned of modern Chinese statesmen, the late Chang Chi-tung, pithily put it: "The perfect sage is the highest human ideal, and thus he determines the principles of conduct after those of nature as we find it." Of course there is much of the *petitio principii* about all this, but not more than there must necessarily be about our favourite Western expression the "final cause."

All ancient Chinese literature, complete or incomplete, genuine or suspect, rings the changes upon the above simple ideas, or upon developments of them; and no other principles are discoverable until definite dates begin to be assigned to human events in 842 B.C. By that time the central king, or emperor, was already shorn of all but his moral or spiritual power; rival states aggrandized themselves at his expense, and at the expense of barbarians encircling the central kingdom of federated China; *de facto* power encroached upon *de jure* authority; China, in short, had its Reformation, Revolution, decay of dogma, and so on, exactly as 2000 years later we had ours in Europe. The ancient "royal road," or simply the "road," was appealed to just as before, but was tacitly modified to meet new conditions, larger areas, and denser populations. Rival schools of philosophy now grew up concurrently with rival centres of statecraft, in such wise that law, religion, morals, and social order gradually each took a separate root of their own, and ceased to be mere subordinate adjuncts of the single government trunk. The recluse who founded what is often called the Taoist religion in the sixth century before Christ, simply tried to evolutionize the old royal *tao*, or "way," so as to include human actions and nature's laws in one homogeneous system, his object being to substitute the simple democratic life for class ambitions, and thus to pacify weltering

humanity. A generation later Confucius, who was off and on both a recluse and a statesman, tried his hand upon the same familiar old material, but did his best to perpetuate class distinctions and social order based upon calculated artificial methods, instead of establishing a natural democracy. The two philosophers had worked independently of each other before they met and found themselves rivals.

These two supreme instructors or advisers of Chinese mankind were only two out of many, and perhaps they are considered supreme chiefly because nearly all the others were practical statesmen or soldiers during the whole of their careers, and thus scarcely possessed the leisure to devote their close attention to mere precept. However that may be, one and all of them failed singly and collectively to stay the disintegrating and fermenting forces of revolutionary thought; China was drenched with blood; the old feudal federation fell to pieces; and an effective centralized direct government was at last in 221 B.C. established over an exhausted people. The new system being once established by force, had inevitably to look round for some reinforcing principle wherewith to consolidate its power and to appease men's restless minds. Taoism was undeniably in favour for at least a century, for it was owing to the iconoclastic democracy of that teaching that the new dictators had at last succeeded, after five centuries of warfare, in demolishing the royal caste federations. But, towards the beginning of our Christian era, the class conservatism of Confucius began to prove itself a more effective instrument and ally of the new centralization. It was precisely whilst the rival claims of Taoism and Confucianism were thus adjusting themselves to the spirit of the times that Buddhism appeared upon the scene, and at once secured popularity in limited circles owing to its possessing many of the better qualities of both the other teachings; *i. e.* the simple needs, the stoicism, the democratic equality of Taoism, coupled with the gentleness, peacefulness, and benevolence of Confucianism. Besides this, the new religion—now properly so called—introduced a certain measure of female rights, the theory of rewards and punishments in the next world, the comfortable doctrine of annihilation of human passion and ambition at death, the idea of self-sacrifice by individuals for the general benefit of man-

kind, and many other novelties hitherto unconceived by the narrower spirit of purely administrative philosophy.

There is no real record of Buddhism having become officially known to the ruling classes of China before A.D. 65, when some courtiers interpreted an Imperial dream by suggesting that the Western divinity, *Fou-t'u* (now written with pictographs then apparently pronounced *Vuddhu*, or *Buddh*) was the "golden man" dreamt of. The same year Buddhist books were brought wholesale from India; and ever since that time the notion of spiritual equality, self-sacrifice for humanity's sake, divine retribution, charity, prayer, control over the passions, and, in a word, religion proper, in our own European sense, has been distinctly perceived and conceived by the Chinese mind. As the Chinese had already then for 200 years or more known of the great Indo-Scythian, Ephthalite-Turk, or Kushān empire of the Oxus region; and as they seem to have had various unofficial and traditional records of certain religious features in Kushān civilization, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the new religion may have already unconsciously or unobtrusively filtered its way into the recently-conquered parts of China long before A.D. 65; in fact, the mere suggestion by a courtier that "it may have been the Western divinity Buddha" shows that men's minds had already contemplated the new situation, and that Buddha had already been talked of. Even in the case of such new ideas as steam-propulsion, electric light and force, wireless telegraphy, telephony, and torpedo-steering, there is nearly always a difficulty in tracing back the exact origins and dates. Of course it is very hard to make serious Christians believe in, or even to entertain, the possibility that the same zealous Buddhist emissaries who so profoundly modified the discredited, or at least practically unsuccessful teachings, philosophy, or ethics of China, may have also suggested analogous reforms to the Jews, as they certainly did to the Parthians; but it is impossible to deny that the ideas of a Messiah, of salvation, good works, and so on, may reasonably have suggested themselves to the Nazarenes through the efforts of Buddhist monks. In China the older Taoism and the slightly later Confucianism (both, it will be remembered, sublimated from the common ancient natural religion) were at once profoundly affected by these peripatetic propagandists;

and, besides competing with each other for Court favour, had both together to contend with the popular novelty of Buddhism. The complicated story of this competition, dynasty by dynasty, has often been fragmentarily told ; but the subject has never been thoroughly worked out as a whole. So far as the government is concerned, Buddhism has usually been most demonstratively patronized by the Tartar dynasties ; this is partly to be accounted for by the fact that the Tartars have oftener had more complete control of the whole Buddhistic land-route from the West, and partly owing to the picturesque externals of Buddhist ritual, appealing as they do more directly to the unsophisticated mind than do the abstract reasonings of a more artificial and class-bound social and political philosophy. Taoism has from time to time enjoyed fitful Court favour in China ; but such Taoism has never been, so far as the masses have been able to grasp it, the pure abstract stoicism of antiquity, but rather the corrupted and opportunist forms adapted for opportunist purposes to meet Buddhist and Confucianist competition. Confucianism, on the other hand, has steadily gained ground, dynasty by dynasty, with the ruling classes of China, as being best calculated to secure reverence for the law, privileges for the classes, family rights for the masses, and deference by all to dynastic rights.

Shāmanism, or Tartar superstition, Mazdéanism, Manichæism, and Fire-worship have never taken deep root, nor have they ever so much as touched the greater part of China proper ; nor, again, has Judaism—always viewed as a kind of bastard Islām—had more than local and restricted vogue. The earliest Christianity in the form of Nestorianism, coming as it did by way of Persia, was not unnaturally regarded as a kind of modified Buddhism on the one hand, or was confused with the Persian religions on the other ; it never gained any aggressive strength. Islām was introduced only a very few years later ; and yet, alone of all the other foreign importations mentioned in this paragraph, it has taken silent, permanent root, and has survived with vigour to this day ; the curious part of this fact is that it has done so uniformly in a quiet and imperceptible way, being scarcely so much as mentioned at the time when the Persian and Nestorian forms were showing prospects of early vitality ; and for 500 years after that it was

never mentioned at all. Thus it may be said that, when the sea-borne Spanish and Portuguese missionaries first appeared on the China coast, 400 years ago, they had practically only to deal with corrupt Buddhism as a popular faith, and with Confucianism as the guiding principle of the governing class. Islām, the most militant of religions in the West, always lay low in China, receiving its due reward in the shape of liberal if not contemptuous toleration; it is only within the past 150 years that it has shown signs of aggressiveness, and that aggressiveness seems to have had its origin rather in schisms within the fold than in hostility against the paganism found outside the pale of Islām.

The missionaries are full of hope, now that the leaven of new thought has worked up the mentality of the masses, that China will become more and more Christian in the sense of accepting doctrine and dogma; but, as suggested above, the Chinese have never shown any jealousy of foreign spirituality, so long as they have been left free to decide for themselves. The Chinese intellect is quite robust enough to take care of itself, and it is not likely that it will ever surrender itself to the dogmatic teaching of any Christian sect, Catholic, Protestant, or Orthodox; it sees only too clearly that, however excellent the general effect of Christianity may have been in rendering the men of the West merciful, charitable towards human and even animal suffering, more truthful and just than the East in judiciary matters, more honest and public-spirited in financial and political matters, it has done very little, and steadily tends to do even less, towards placating race-ambitions, minimizing the waste upon warlike preparations, equalizing the enjoyment of the good things of life, and making men happy. In short they see that the warring nations of the West, in spite of their science, their "faith," and their philosophy, are in very much the same parlous state that old China was in when Lao-tsz and Confucius tried, each in his own way, to bring men back to the simple life or to the polite life respectively. They are not contented, and not happy. There is a keen demand in awakening China for all that the missionaries can do in the way of translating books of science, finance, political economy, history, *comparative* religion, the arts of war, the principles of state right and constitutional

right, and so on ; but the most enthusiastic missionaries will hardly pretend that any really intellectual Chinese troubles himself about miracles, holy mysteries, dogma, or doctrine pure and simple. The state of things that existed in Europe at the time of the Reformation and the Inquisition is hardly conceivable in China, where fanaticism and religious zeal are quite foreign to the educated and the ignorant temperament alike. Such religious persecutions as have taken place have always been commanded from above, and have never burst out in the form of spiritual popular enthusiasm ; they have always had a political and anti-foreign substratum, the fear being lest the peaceful course of social life and administrative government should be rendered confused and anarchical in the apparent interests of strangers enjoying the hospitality and tolerance of China. Neither Taoism nor Confucianism, which are both teachings of native growth, in no way religious, has ever been in the least persecuted, except that over-zealous individuals at Court may have occasionally been suppressed when their rivalry seemed to threaten a breach of the peace.

As things now stand, in spite of a Tartar dynasty, of long-rooted financial corruption, of over half-a-century of opium-dissipation, of squeezed feet, of warlike incapacity, ingrained contempt (until quite recently) for scientific teaching, and other great handicaps, China is making a really brave show in the direction of political, economical, and moral independence : so far from there being in her any anti-religious fanaticism, she is beginning to show once more a secular tolerance all round, and even to welcome missionaries for their many other virtues, gently ignoring that part of their " spiritual " and doctrinal teaching which the Chinese cannot accept, and which they now see can do little political or social harm so long as a reasonable amount of outlet is given to it, and no irritating attempts are made to suppress liberty of opinion.

CHAPTER III

THE CHINESE *LITERATI* AND RELIGION

THE number of officials in China is wonderfully small, considering the vast extent and enormous population of the Empire. Excluding Peking, we may roughly set down the figures as 6000 ; to wit 1500 *hien* or district magistrates ; 1500 of higher rank ; and 3000 assistant magistrates of various kinds, whether belonging to a *fu*, a *chou*, or a *hien*. It would be mere guesswork to estimate the number of expectants awaiting at the provincial capitals their turn to fill one or the other of the above 6000 vacancies ; but it would not be rash to allow for at least as many expectants as there are posts ; and meanwhile these expectants subsist as best they can on precarious billets and " jobs " found for them in their capacity of *weiyian* or deputy ; whether it be a permanent post as a collector of *likin*, or a temporary job as inquirer into this or that case. Thus there are 6000 men in actual possession of the loaves and fishes ; 6000 more feeding on the crumbs ; and perhaps 200,000 young men (or disappointed old men) who frequent the examination-halls in the eighteen or twenty provinces, hoping to qualify at some period for a snatch at these loaves and fishes ;—say, at a liberal computation, a quarter of a million individuals all told, including Peking. These form the body of passive resisters to foreign pressure ; and most of them hungry ; those who are in possession ever asking for more, or, what stands still more in the way of reform, taking it for themselves. To one who, like the writer, has travelled perhaps 10,000 miles in half the provinces of China, a very striking thing is the almost total absence of visible power and authority except in the great cities. Policemen seem unknown. If a " row " takes place in a large village or market-town, there never appear to be more than two or three individuals in a hundred who can speak in " gram-

matical" terms of authority to the crowd. If you watch the knots of humanity gathering round the newest proclamations at the city gates, you will soon see that the large majority can only "spell" their way along with difficulty, and by comparing notes with bystanders in a similar condition. In short, the vast mass of the people live from hand to mouth, and regulate their own affairs according to ancient patriarchal principles. Families are not mere households, but collections of households, clans, and even whole villages. Most of the boys go to school, and most adult men seem to be able to grope their way through as much literature as meets their immediate needs in life. Well-to-do clans or families may send up half-a-dozen sons to the examinations; but, taking poor and rich together, probably not one household in two hundred can afford the time, the money, or the room-space to enable one youth to study seriously and continuously.

Just as the *cura* and his friend the *barbero* managed the thorny complications of Don Quixote's village, and just as with ourselves the parson and the solicitor (supported by the most intelligent farmers and tradesmen) still form the thinking force of a typical old English village, so do the retired official, the official in mourning, the expectant on leave, and the young man preparing for his examination, form the advisory body—and even the real governing body—in an out-of-the-way Chinese hamlet. They form a useful link between the city authorities and the heads of "the people"—the "silly people," as they are affectionately and patronizingly called in the proclamations. Of course, the above skeleton picture must be varied and filled in with local detail according to the circumstances of each province, prefecture, and district: it is but a sketch.

Now, if Christianity wishes to make a good job of it in China, it must endeavour to get at the *litterati*, to convince these influential middlemen that it is their interest, mundane or spiritual, either or both, to consider patiently the reformed teaching presented to them. If the *litterati* were convinced—if a half or a quarter of them were convinced—a corresponding proportion of the "silly people" would, at least, be favourably disposed too; and, silly though they may be, even their patrons the *litterati* only use this term in a "Pickwickian"

sense ; for a silly Chinaman is just as shrewd as a *litteratus* in all that concerns the mundane interests which he can understand : nay, the silly people will pass over the *litterati's* heads and " block the hat " or smash the chair of the sacred city mandarin himself, if too much *likin* be clapped on pork, or too stringent justice be meted out to the " poor, blind man " by custom entitled to sell smuggled salt in the streets.

The denunciatory policy in proselytizing has never succeeded in China. All Chinamen, silly or literate, have naturally selected unto themselves a hard head. That head may, or may not, be full of Confucian nonsense : it is at least doubtful whether any other social system has had such a successful and continuous run as that of Confucius. Up to a year or two ago it would have been madness to suggest to the ruling family of China that Confucius and Mencius had seen their best day ; but one of the earliest signs of such a change was the redoubtable news that the Duke Tsai-chên, the son of Imperial Prince K'ing himself, had got into hot water with the late Empress-Dowager for hinting that such was the case. But, nonsense or no nonsense, the old ideas are bred into the Chinese mind ; and even if, under the stress of foreign competition and the struggle for life, these ideas are losing official force, they must still be treated with reverence and respect so far as the masses and the classes are concerned.

In presenting Christian truth to the keen and practical Chinese mind, missionaries should present it temperately and modestly, like any other truth. After all, truth is elusive, and is only what each person earnestly believes ; and as (apart from the Catholic faith, from the source of which all other Christian faiths are in a way historically derived) there are about a score of competing Protestant truths in China, it is evident to the silliest of Chinamen, that we all do not believe alike, and that, therefore, truth is to be selected. Hence he is clearly entitled to reasons in full, submitted to him with proper respect, not only for his own poor, perishing faith, but for all other full-blooded competing faiths. It must be explained to him in full what are the mundane and spiritual advantages of attaching his mind to the new truth. Stress must be laid, not so much on the failure of what he once did believe as on the success of what it is hoped he will come to

believe. Take a marvellous illustrative case in point :—For 250 years the Manchus have acquiesced out of sheer despair in the abominable Chinese “truth” of foot-binding, which they earnestly endeavoured to stop when they conquered China, and which they have never for an instant tolerated among their own women. Who would have thought it possible fifteen years ago that, not only would the Manchu Empress-Dowager have issued an edict upon the subject, but even Chinese viceroys would take the matter up with enthusiasm? Credit is largely due to Mrs. Archibald Little, for having persistently, patiently, intelligently, and intelligibly placed the advantages and disadvantages, mundane and spiritual, in a sympathetic way before the literary classes; and lo! and behold! popular prejudices collapse at once. Probably foot-binding will go on fitfully and locally for another hundred years; but its back is broken for ever, and it will go out of fashion as a “truth,” as surely as the three-bottle-of-port statesmen have gradually passed away from England.

Enthusiasm and faith alone, without intellectual power to explain and prove the grounds thereof, will never succeed with the governing Chinese classes, who, on the other hand, have always been free from intellectual prejudice in religious and ethical matters. Their so-called “ancestral worship” need never be meddled with: in the first place, it is largely a question of words; it is, perhaps, no more “worship” than placing a wreath on the coffin of a European king is worship. It is a mark of filial respect and veneration, a humble recognition of the past, having, in the opinion of many genuine Christians, in it nothing whatever inconsistent with the highest Christian truths. “Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land.” Even if it be “worship” (a word which after all only means “doing worth to”), what does that matter? Is it well ascertained that our English word “worship” fully reproduces the sense of the original Hebrew word? In any case, there is no advantage to be gained by beginning with a contest upon a purely spiritual and abstract point, and risking the loss of everything. Time enough for a jealous God, when we have established a God at all in the Chinese mind. What is wanted is that missionaries should define clearly the life they wish their proposed converts



Alicia Little
August, 1902.

MRS. ARCHIBALD LITTLE, THE APOSTLE OF NATURAL FEET.

[To face p. 28.]

to lead on earth ; should see that their own lives correspond strictly with the lives they recommend ; should endeavour to utilize what good points remain out of the Chinese system they condemn—*e. g.*, reverence for ancestors, filial duty, family charity, and so on—and develop, rather than discourage, these virtues, which are also Christian virtues, on Christian lines. They should also be careful not to do or to advise anything which at all weakens loyalty to the State : the examples of our own Reformation and the present French Separation Law are sufficient to illustrate the consequences of clerical meddling with State affairs. They should ask themselves exactly what they mean when they say they have come to China to “ save ” the Chinese, and should make some reasonable and practical compromise, which secures salvation from visible worldly misery, as well as salvation for the invisible soul. Otherwise, why should we remain in this world at all ?

CHAPTER IV

CHINESE BLESSEDNESS¹

I. PERHAPS the best way of arriving at some preliminary notion of the conceptions of blessedness cherished by the Chinese, is to examine in the first instance their methods of ordinary speech, which can easily be traced back in spirit to the utterings of antiquity. When a Chinaman asks an acquaintance how he fares, the stereotyped reply is: "I depend upon your happiness," or, "Thanks to you." In matters of greater gravity, the Emperor or any other of his subjects, official or otherwise, will say: "Thanks to the shade of my ancestors' happiness, I am," etc. When two or more persons are thrown together in pursuit of a common interest, whether it be marriage, partnership, political sympathy, or what not, it is the practice to say and to assume that the individuals, or the families to which the individuals immediately concerned belong, "have a predestination," *i. e.* have some spiritual affinity which is continued from the anterior existence into the present existence. The word *yüan*, here translated "predestination," was extended in later times to signify spiritual sympathy or connection in the present life, and even in the future life: its original meaning is a "hem, collar, connecting thread"; hence a "reason; to follow up, to climb up." After the advent of Buddhism in the first century of our era, the old term *yin-yüan*, or "because clue," was adapted to the *nidâna*, or "causes and effects" connecting past existences with present; and so now in popular usage the Buddhistic idea is usually connoted in the mind of the speaker or writer. But, none the less, the basic notion really takes its origin in the ancient ancestor-worship of the Chinese, one of the most

¹ This article originally appeared in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, edited by Dr. James Hastings, and published by Messrs. T. & T. Clark, of Edinburgh.

elementary principles of which was that no happiness could exist in this life unless the spirits of the dead were conciliated by living representatives through sacrifice, prayer, and duty. In other words, a Blest Abode can only exist securely on earth, under the shadow or protection of the Spiritual Abode above. When a man enters into conversation with a stranger, and the interview develops sympathetic interests on both sides, one will say to the other: "We two have a *yiiian*"—meaning, "it was already planned out before our birth that we should meet," even if only to buy and sell a horse, though the expression belongs rather to matrimonial arrangements. One friend will often write to or hail another as "old generation elder brother," the more ordinary term being "old brother" simply. The addition of the word *shì*, meaning "generation," "world," or "hereditary" (for it signifies all three), delicately suggests for the past a subtle spiritual connection—it may be running through more than one world.

As with ourselves, the Chinese have never been able to conceive conscious Deity otherwise than in the shape of man. Man has ever conceived of himself as a being above all animals, and thus he cannot but imagine the Deity in the highest conceivable shape. Hence it is scarcely to be wondered at that the Chinese have always conceived the Spiritual Abode to be a mere reproduction of the present earthly abode; its denizens being subject to the same feelings and passions, being divided into the same ranks and classes as here on earth.

One of the most ancient Chinese documents we possess, the *Hung-fan* (1100 B.C.), or "Great Plan," thus defines the "Five Blessednesses": to wit, Long Life, Wealth, Serenity, Love of Virtue, and Object achieved at Death. This idea of blessedness in the present world is still found, after running an unbroken course of 3000 years, in the popular speech of to-day. Thus, if a Chinese wishes "a happy New Year," the reply is: "May you be promoted; may you have sons; may you live rich and distinguished days!" On almost every door-post or lintel in the empire, at least when the New Year comes in, if not at most other festive times, may be seen the two words "happiness" and "(old) age." These two undoubtedly take premier rank among the Five Blessednesses in the Chinese mind: the love of virtue (which in China has

nothing whatever to do with sobriety and continence) decidedly takes second rank ; but still it is there, and most respectable Chinese, after the immediate necessities of life have been obtained, take a keen pleasure in doing what we should call " kind acts." The " Object achieved at Death " may reasonably be held to include a proper provision of sons and grandsons for the adequate continuation of the family chain ; or " dying at the zenith of success," *i. e.* dying with ambition or desires fully achieved—a stock Imperial phrase in reference to deceased statesmen. The ideal picture of Chinese happiness has been best given in many shapes by M. Simon (once French Consul at Foochow) in his pretty and sympathetic little work *La Cité Chinoise*, published about twenty years ago : such pictures as he draws may be daily seen by any one who travels extensively over the more primitive districts of China, whither " progress " has not penetrated. The grandest ideal of all blessedness is " five generations in one hall," *i. e.* grandfather and great-grandfather, father, son, and grandson—if possible, each with his wife still living—all in the same homestead ; the old people calmly smoking their long metal pipes, giving advice, and sipping tea in the comfortable protected corners ; the younger generations exposing themselves to the elements and doing the hard work ; all the males assembling in the hall (or threshing floor, according to season) for common meals ; all the females decorously confining themselves to the " inner apartments " (often a mere curtained-off space) or secluded gardens ; each generation tenderly caring for the seniors' wants ; each venerable man mildly but confidently authoritative to those below him, as he individually is perfectly deferential to the parent or parents of himself. In the field hard by is the ancestral cemetery ; perhaps only the graves of an off-branch are there ; possibly those of ten or twenty ancestors, ranged right and left of the " first (migrating) ascendant." In any case the book of genealogy for remote ancestors can be found when needed, somewhere in China. There is little luxury in the ideal Chinese life : no boarded floors ; no ceilings or papered walls ; no glass or linen ; no expensive wines or smart reception rooms. As a rule, the life, no matter how high the retired official may be, is what may be termed " farm life." Plain cotton clothes ; plenty of rice, pork, and vegetables ; good



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A "VIRTUOUS WIDOW'S ARCH."

[To face p. 33.

plain cookery ; fine clothes for ceremonial occasions stowed away in chests ; bedizenments for the women ; pigs, poultry, ploughing cattle (seldom carts or horses) ; manure in heaps (or even plastered to the walls) ; fish and hams, or pemmican, drying and being smoked in the rafters ; stiff chairs or benches ; easy demeanour to servants and slaves ; and, above all, perfect democracy and entire absence of snobbery : age is the only " quality " ; money counts not. Of late years newspapers have been added to the modest store of " good books " ; and (too often, alas !) so has opium been added to the mild tobacco, rice spirit, and tea of antiquity. (Tobacco, by the way, only dates from about A.D. 1500, and tea from A.D. 600.) Comfortable, healthy griminess may be said to represent well-to-do Chinese country life from our Victorian era point of view : baths and sanitary arrangements, of course, entirely absent, and no one a penny the worse.

Here clearly we have long life, wealth, peace, and death with honour. But where does love of virtue come in ? Well, a good family is neighbourly, hospitable, and friendly ; even foreigners are courteously received as equals, so long as they behave themselves prudently, and so long as evil rumours have not preceded them. Kindness to slaves (who in any case are usually indistinguishable by strangers from free men) is a great Chinese characteristic. A mandarin of rank does not mind a slave lighting up his pipe for him ; he will sleep on the same mattress with that slave in a travelling boat ; he is courteous to him in speech—so long as there is no fault to check. Kindness to animals is another Chinese trait : perhaps negative rather than positive ; not fussy solicitude, but negligent easy-going tolerance ; subordinate, however, to practical human needs. A country squire of the above-described type will associate with equals and inferiors at the temple—he does not mind much whether it be a Buddhist, Taoist, or other temple. He has his own ancestral buildings for the settlement of family disputes ;—sometimes the whole village or town belongs to one single family name, or two family names ; the village temple consequently suffices for more general interests. Mandarins are not by any means all bad : the local squireen endeavours none the less to avoid official friction, and to keep his village free of tax-collectors' exactions and the police

harpies, who are unpaid, and "live on their warrants." Local self-government is universal; so long as the land-tax is paid, order and decency are maintained along the roads; and (latterly) so long as a reasonable tax, or, at all events, the customary tax on commercial movement be not evaded. The "virtuous" paterfamilias promotes schools, maternity establishments, charities generally, and favours "arbitration" in lieu of law. The elders may, as a rule, in council compound or hush up any crime but treason and parricide, so long as they agree, and so long as the mandarin has not the case officially brought before him. Religion in China is ignored rather than cultivated, and the priests (Buddhist and Taoist), though treated politely, especially if they are fairly educated men, are regarded as quite an inferior caste; yet their services are conventionally sought even by orthodox Confucianists when there is death in the house. If unprovoked religious observance is indulged in at all, it usually takes the form of a play at the village temple, when both sexes assemble for the combined purposes of consulting the oracles, praying for rain or children, and hearing historical dramas; and also for formal social intercourse generally. Admittance is free to all, and the local rich man pays the itinerant company.

2. Having now examined into the question how far the idea of bliss on earth is discernible from the ordinary conversation of social life, we come to more general, if undefined, principles, one of which is that a happy existence on earth involves no spiritual comfort derived from supernatural considerations, but takes into account solely human desires, passions, dislikes, and fears, as they are born in us, and as they are and ought to be regulated by *li*. What this *li*—usually translated "rites" or "propriety"—is, it is not so easy to define verbally as to realize mentally; but it may be called the Law of Nature and Right as seen by the collective wisdom of the highest human types, as understood by tradition, and as laid down by the Emperor (and his lieutenants) as Vicegerent of Heaven. The past life and the future life are the same thing; that is to say, life in heaven is exactly the same as life on earth, except that what the Chinese poets call the "stinking bag," or body that contains the human soul or spirit, must be considered as midway between the two. Every individual,

though begotten of his father, really comes spiritually from the past life, where the souls of his ancestors are, and returns to the future life, whence his own soul contemplates his descendants on earth : the link is an unbroken one ; the duty to ascendants and descendants is the same, though in a different set of phases, as is the duty to one's self ; the past, the present, and the future are thus merged in one ; the idea of " time " does not come in at all : the intense anxiety to possess a male heir (by adoption of agnates, or, if none, of cognates, failing a natural heir) is now made intelligible, as also is the extreme punishment of " cutting off posterity," which leaves " uneasy ghosts " to wander about for ever without dutiful attention. What heaven is, of course, no one knows, ever did know, or (in our present state of knowledge) ever can know ; but such as it may be, it is in the Chinese mind a place where sentient individuals in the shape of human beings conduct affairs, whether as emperors, officials, freemen, or slaves ; and, as we have already shown, nothing higher than a human being, or a sentient being with human feelings, has ever been or could ever have been conceived of. It is often even uncertain whether heaven is viewed as a place or as a person ; or say, rather, " Heaven forbid " and " who art in heaven " are Chinese tropes as well as ours. The " Spirit of Heaven " and the " Emperor Above " are often convertible terms. There is but one life. The ancestor in the past is miserable unless he be tended ; the mortal in the present is, or ought to be, miserable unless he tends, and unless he secures legitimate born or unborn links to tend himself when he is dead.

Hence the ancestor must always be kept informed, with due fasting and purification, of the successes and failures of the representative individual, be he ruler or ruled ; and the ancestor's spirit clings to his special wooden name-tablet standing in the family temple ; nor will he accept the sacrificial offerings, or evince his approval of what is done, unless things are conducted in accordance with *li*. Failure to render ghostly service to the spirits is liable to bring on mundane disaster in the shape of inundations or other irregularities of nature. But the spirits of any given family will accept sacrifice only from the legitimate representatives of that family ; hence the enormity of cutting off for ever the only persons or

links able to continue the family chain of life. Then only it is that Heaven steps in, finds that the virtue has gone out of its former *protégé* or nominee, and confers the vicegerency upon another ruling house; the same thing *mutatis mutandis* for private persons. This position is well illustrated in the year 516 B.C., when the ruler of Confucius' State took to flight in consequence of internal revolts. One of his ministers said: "I do not know whether it be that Heaven has abandoned the country, or whether the country has committed some great offence against the ghosts and spirits." It was necessary for a ruler—were he emperor, king, vassal prince, or what not—to have a domain before he could sacrifice to the spirits of his ancestors: thus in ancient China the fiefs were at first subdivided indefinitely, and the domain gave a name which grew into a family name, or, as we say, a surname. Hence we find sacrifices to the gods of the land, the harvests, the rivers, mountains, and the frontiers, all concurrent with the personal sacrifice to ancestors. Dispossessed princes of previous dynasties were rarely cut off without mercy. Not only were their persons spared, but an estate, however insignificant, was conferred upon their lineal representatives by the ruling power favoured by Heaven's new choice, and these representatives were received as guests and peers by the Emperor when they presented themselves to do homage for their holdings. Except under circumstances of great provocation, it was considered impious to cause the extinction of a family, and thus to put a stop to the ancestral sacrifices. That sacrifice to ghosts and spirits can be viewed as distinct from and inferior to the sacrifices to the Emperor Above, is instanced by a case in the year 482 B.C., when an official of Confucius' vassal State was detained in captivity by the semi-barbarous State lying to its south. Though the State in question was ruled by the same family as the then Imperial family of China, and also the same family as that ruling over Confucius' State, the aboriginal population was still half savage, and even the Chinese rulers had become corrupted by popular spirit-worship and local superstitions. The captive orthodox minister accordingly said, well knowing this superstitious weakness: "You had better let me go to take part in the sacrifices to the Emperor Above, which my master, the ruling duke, has to render at

this season ; otherwise the priest of the temple will hurl imprecations against your king ! ” The device succeeded.

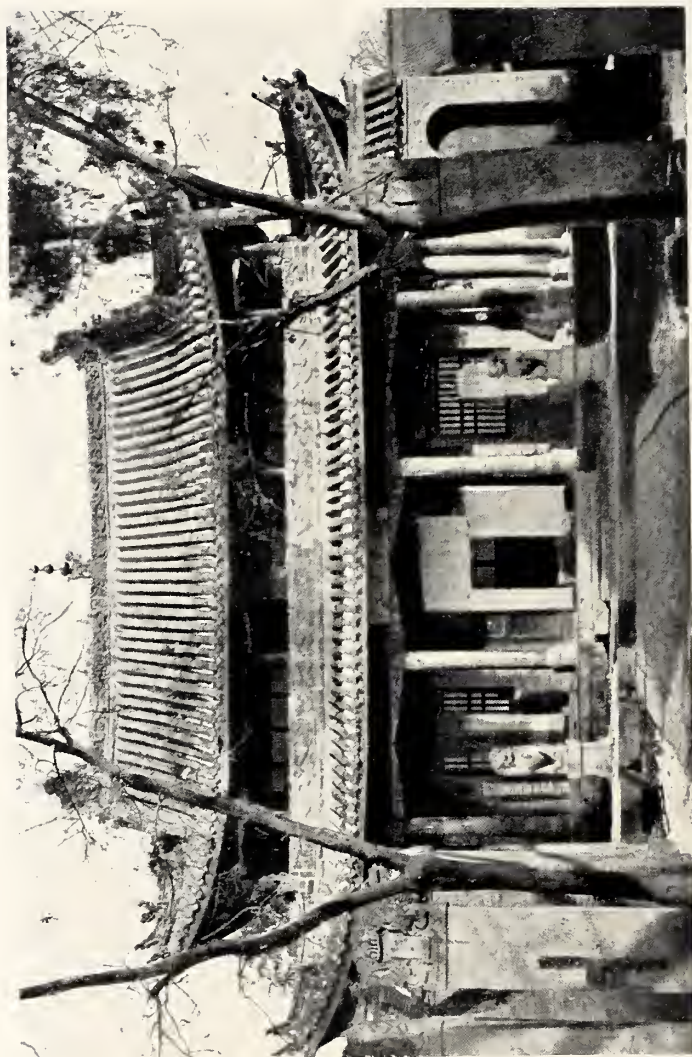
3. It was manifestly considered doubtful whether the dead really had any exact knowledge of what was transpiring on earth ; for a royal maiden of North China, who found herself, in 502 B.C., dying in the above-named semi-barbarous kingdom, said : “ If the dead really possess any knowledge, please bury me where I can at least see my own native land. ” A year before that, a semi-barbarous general, who was about to set fire to the enemy’s camp, in which the bodies of many of his own slain lay too, asked, when remonstrated with : “ What does it matter if I burn their bones ? If the dead really possess knowledge of what goes on here, then we can sacrifice to them afterwards, and thus give them satisfaction. ” As is well known, Confucius himself, whilst adopting a respectful attitude towards the traditional “ nether ” world (as we and they still popularly call it), declined to discuss spiritual beings, saying : “ We know little enough of man in this life, without troubling ourselves with theories about the other. ” It cannot be too often repeated that in ancient China there was no word of any kind for “ religion ” ; none for a public “ church ” ; none for “ temple ” or “ priest, ” as distinct from ancestral halls and preceptors for Imperial worship ; always except and in so far as the doctrine of continuity, through ancestors and descendants, with the past and future spiritual states may have left an inference in the mind. The nearest approach to religion was *li*, the written character expressing which idea is made up of the two separate signs, signifying “ spiritual being ” or “ *themis* ” as a radical notion, and “ a sacrificial vessel ” as supplementary idea. Consequently, in figuring out for themselves an ideal for blessedness in this life, no idea of collective worship ; no notion of a single jealous God ; no need for praise, self-denial, confession, and pardon of sin ; no yearning for holiness as evinced by continence, abstinence, humility, joy in everlasting salvation or divine grace, etc., ever even remotely entered the Chinese mind. Blessedness in the flesh was purely human, and spiritual blessedness in the past or future was—and this only doubtfully or agnostically—supposed to be the same thing.

It was reserved for the philosopher Lao-tsz, an archivist

at the Imperial Court, who lived during the sixth century B.C., a generation before Confucius, and who took the democratic and simple view of a life ushered in by civil strife and commercial activity, in contrast to Confucius' conservative and courtly definitions of *li*, to define for the first time in what ideal blessedness consisted. Like his rival Confucius, he worked entirely on old texts. Both philosophers ignored spiritualist views, and attempted to restore social order in the Chinese federation by interpreting exactly the same ancient texts, each in his own "advanced" way. Even the word "teaching," which since the arrival in China of Buddhism, early in the first century of our era, has come to signify "religion" or "faith," was not yet applied to these diverging interpretations, which were simply styled "craft," "scheme," or "plan," *i. e.* the plan of life, the plan of government, the plan of ancestral continuity. The old *tao*, or "way," which about 500 B.C. for the first time began to substitute in men's minds individual blessedness for collective blessedness; or, to use Sir Henry Maine's words, to substitute contract for status, took quite a new form in Lao-tsz's hands. Hence he has always received the title of Prophet of Taoism—an anachronism similar in quality to that by which certain branches of the Reformed Church (of England) insist in styling themselves the Holy Catholic Church. The old *Ju* (still meaning "Confucianist") were the intellectuals of China, according to the *li* theories as developed by the then reigning Imperial dynasty (1122–255 B.C.), whose statutes combined in one indivisible idea, law, religion, life, government, social decency, war, and punishment. This was *Tao*. Just as *Tao* took a narrower meaning when Lao-tsz defined it, so *Ju* took a narrower meaning when Confucius specialized it.

Lao-tsz's summing up, literally translated, is as follows:—

"My ideal is a series of small States with small populations. Let them possess an army machine of moderate size, but not be too ready to use it. Let them place a proper value on their lives, and refrain from distant migrations. Then, though they will be possessed of boats and carts, there will be no one to ride in them; though they will be possessed of arms and cuirasses, there will be no need for arraying them. Let the people revert to the old *quipo* system of records, enjoy their food, take a pride in their clothes, dwell in peace, and rejoice in their local customs. Each State would be within easy sight of the other; the sound of each other's hens cackling and dogs barking would be heard across. The people of each State would live to a good old age, and would have no movement of intercourse with neighbouring States.



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TEMPLE (PROBABLY PRE-BUDDHISTIC) AT HU CHOU, HO NAN PROVINCE, WHERE IN A.D. 200
THE FOUNDER OF THE THIRD HAN DYNASTY TOOK REFUGE.

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“True words are apt to be not liked ; pleasant words are apt to be untrue. Good or beneficent men do not wrangle, and wranglers are apt not to be good men. Those who know best do not range over many subjects, and those who range most widely do not know best. The highest form of man cares not to accumulate : so far as he uses his resources for others, he increases his own store ; so far as he gives them to others, he has the more for himself. The Providence of Heaven benefits and does not injure ; the Providence of the highest form of man takes action without self-assertive effort.”

Since the arrival in China in turn of Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Manichæism, Mahometanism, Nestorianism, Catholicism, and Protestantism, respectively, the doctrine of rewards and punishments in a future life has naturally entered more and more into the Chinese imagination ; and, of course, to a certain extent the ideas of holiness and blessedness in this life have become correspondingly modified. But the intellectual classes are still largely swayed by the more materialistic philosophy of Lao-tsz and Confucius, and it is very doubtful whether the religious enthusiasm which once revolutionized Europe has ever touched, or will ever touch, the trained Chinese intellect ; *a fortiori* it is doubtful whether blessedness on earth will ever become less human than it is now, or more of a temporary preparation for supposed everlasting blessedness in eternity.

CHAPTER V

A PAGE OF ANCIENT CHINESE HISTORY

AMONGST the few specimens of ancient Chinese calligraphy which have come down to us, is Confucius' own inscription on the tomb of Ki-chah, one of the princes of the then semi-barbarous state of Wu, corresponding to the territory lying between the modern Shanghai, Soochow, and Nanking. Like nearly all the princes of China's semi-barbarous neighbours, Ki-chah was of Chinese descent, *i. e.* a scion of the original grantee of the barbarous fief; but he was a particularly worthy man, inasmuch as he had firmly declined the succession to the throne of Wu in favour of his brothers and their descendants in turn. Confucius' inscription runs: "Alas, the grave of Ki-chah of Yen-ling in the kingdom of Wu." The grave is still *in situ*, inscription included, at a place called Shên-hiang, about sixty li (twenty miles) east of Ch'ang-chou *fu*, on the new British railway. It was not until about the year 515 B.C. that Wu was admitted into the federation of the Chinese civilized states. Ki-chah was sent by the king, his nephew, first to the Emperor's Court as a matter of form, and then to the Court of Tsin (Shan Si), where the representative "Tyrant" or "Protector" of China still held sway over the northern group of states. But thirty years before that, in the year 544, he had, as ambassador, visited Confucius' country. This was when the Sage was about seven years of age. As the state of Lu, though small, held the highest rank in literature and refinement, on account of its having been the appanage of one of the founders of the Imperial Chou dynasty, the first thing Ki-chah did was to ask to be entertained with specimens of political music, *i. e.* the Odes and the various songs perpetuating the deeds of past heroes. These he had cultivated as best he could in his own

half-civilized country; but now for the first time he had the pleasure of hearing the genuine article as transmitted through the first dynasties, and upon these he passed running criticisms showing great intelligence. Thence he went on to the neighbouring state of Ts'i, northern Shan Tung, where he had an interview with the celebrated philosopher-statesman Yen-tsz, whom he advised for his own safety to surrender the power and emoluments he possessed before the approaching political storm should come on. His advice was taken.

Next Ki-chah paid a visit to Chêng, where he greeted the future distinguished statesman Tsz-Ch'an as though he had been an old friend. He presented his host with a silk sash of local (Soochow) manufacture, while he himself received in return one of local (Ho Nan) grass-cloth material. He then proffered the following advice: "He who rules your country as prime minister is so profuse that trouble is sure to supervene, and you are certain to be his successor: when this takes place, be sure to govern according to the rites, otherwise the country is certain to come to grief." He then proceeded to Wei. Here he had the satisfaction of meeting amongst the statesmen one admired friend of Confucius named K'ü Pêh-yüh, who is mentioned not only in the first two dynastic histories published within a century on each side of our era, but also in the *Book of Rites*, parts of which were edited by Confucius and his disciples. Finally he went to Tsin (Shan Si), where he met the heads of the three powerful families who practically monopolized all the real power of the State. He also had an interview with Shuh Hiang, the illustrious friend of Confucius, Tsz-Ch'an, Yen-tsz and the other great men of China. He foresaw that sooner or later Tsin would fall a prey to these three ambitious families, and warned Shuh Hiang to maintain an upright attitude and be careful not to get involved in political intrigue.

This old page of Chinese history, a page so seldom turned up, even by students, in these hurrying days of ours, shows the advanced ethical standpoint reached by the statesmen who flourished at the time of Confucius. It is all the more wonderful to Western observers that this ancient empire, having had such a splendid start, should have wearied so soon and slackened speed in the race; falling to sleep, as it were, at the time when

the nations of the West were only just beginning to emerge from the stages of barbarism. Now we are told that she is clumsily awakening from her age-long stupor, and, finding the old standards out of date, is seeking to discover what better substitutes the West has to offer. What will be the result of her quest? That is the great question of the twentieth century.

PART II

TAOISM. ITS GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT OUT OF
THE OLD SPIRITUAL LIFE

CHAPTER I

THE TAOIST TEACHING

BUDDHISM, Confucianism, and Taoism have been for many centuries, and still are, collectively known to Chinese literature as the "three teachings"; there being no such subjective word as *religio* and consequently no means of expressing our Western distinction between "doctrine" and "religion." If the subjective idea of "religion" exists at all, in our sense, it is rather expressed in the word corresponding to *pietas*, which was a powerful sentiment in China long before any one of the three doctrines was heard of; but through Confucius' subsequent development of the theme, and still more by contrast with the non-family sentiment of Buddhism, it has since become almost exclusively associated with Confucianism, which is scarcely a "religion." There are few European students with any sinological pretensions who have not tried their hand at elucidating in some degree the doctrine of *Tao*; but, so far as I can judge, the combined result of all their labours has been to render an exceptionally obscure subject even more unintelligible than it was, and still is, in its original Chinese dress; moreover, to add unsightly foreign excrescences to an elusive mental image which *in puris naturalibus* is fairly comprehensible in its main features. If all the European and American writings upon Taoism were utterly consumed in a huge bonfire (as the reforming first Emperor of China endeavoured to consume all the philosophical and argumentative literature 2128 years ago) we should probably not be one whit the poorer as to real facts or definite terminologies; for, however distorted and novel, they are still inspired by purely Chinese sources, and we have before our eyes now almost exactly the same original evidence, both as to quantity and quality, that the native annalists had in the years 130 to 90 B.C., at about which time they began to

define the Taoism of the contentious philosophers, historically and critically. To illustrate the hopeless muddle of the "civilized" Western mind, it will be sufficient to say that one speculator is of opinion that no such man as Lao-tsz (the founder of concrete Taoism) ever existed at all; another that his book never existed so far as he himself was concerned, or that it is a forgery or a piece of later patchwork from other authors. A third finds the Hebrew word "Jehovah" lying *perdu* in the three syllables, *i*, *hi*, and *wi*, "smoothness, rareness, and abstruseness," all three of which often occur quite separately in the text, and all three of which are still used in those senses in modern official literature; but which Lao-tsz in one place happens to group together in a sort of triune definition: of course this leads on to the discovery that Lao-tsz held persistent notions of a Trinity in Unity. A fourth energetically supports the reasonableness of this last view, but suggests at the same time the three Chaldean gods, Anna, Hea, and Bel, instead. One man is convinced that Brahminism lies at the root of Taoism; another holds out for primitive Buddhism; yet another thinks the Israelites might have crept away into China after the early destruction of their Temple. As to what the provokingly simple word *Tao* means, almost every abstract notion with any show of probability or possibility in it has been suggested—God, Nature, Reason, Love, Right, Charity, Logos, the Way (its Chinese meaning), the Principle of Right, the Eternal Fitness of Things, etc., etc. Finally, the very individuals who deny the existence of either Lao-tsz or his book, or both, none the less wrangle about what he said, what he would really have said if some one else had said it for him, and how he has been misrepresented as saying what he never said. Under these perplexing circumstances perhaps the simplest way to approach the subject is to relate what the Chinese historians say, and to ignore outsiders and foreign expositors altogether. Our best real authority about Lao-tsz is the first general Chinese history of China, given to the world by Sz-ma T'an and his son Sz-ma Ts'ien, almost exactly 2000 years ago. These two men, themselves strongly impregnated with Taoist notions, were historiographers and astrologers to the Han dynasty (202 B.C.—A.D. 25), which had already—when they did their historical work—been in possession of China for a hundred

years. As with the Chaldeans and also, perhaps, the Egyptians, the keepers of ancient Chinese records did not see their way entirely to separate human events from celestial phenomena ; hence in ancient China it was the duty of one and the same department to record, together with a human event, the sidereal portents which might account for it. This fact alone partly explains why Taoist ethics, like all other ethics, were bound up with the mysterious forces of nature. That Sz-ma Ts'ien did his best to record the truth generally is evident from the fact that he at last suffered a terrible penalty for speaking of the Emperor's policy too freely in his history ; not to mention the circumstance that the more we study his and the subsequent dynastic histories the more reason we have to be convinced of Chinese moderation and historical good faith throughout twenty centuries of almost day to day records. In describing Lao-tsz, he even goes out of his way to allude to two other individuals who might be mistaken for him.

Lao-tsz, or the "Old One," was born in the north-west corner of the modern province of An Hwei. He belonged to the Li family, the same family name as that borne by the late Li Hung-chang, who also came from An Hwei—and his personal name was Êrh, meaning "Ears." Thus his real name was Li Êrh. In consequence of the same auricular peculiarity, which led to his being called as above, he was given the posthumous personal name of Tan, or, as it was then, Tam. Towards the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century B.C. he held at the Imperial Capital (modern Ho-nan *Fu*) the post of Keeper of Libraries. When Confucius, who was then a famous teacher of philosophy at the Court of a Ducal State forming part of modern Shan Tung province, visited the Imperial Court in order to improve his knowledge, he attempted to extract from Lao-tsz some more definite information about the traditional rites and ceremonies as approved by the centre of Chinese civilization. The outspoken old philosopher made use of the following uncompromising language : "The bones of the people you speak of have all rotted away, and only their words remain. When a man of first-rate qualities finds his opportunity, he makes his career ; if he finds no opportunity, he betakes himself off like the grass carried away by the storm. I have always understood that a good trader keeps back his

best wares : in the same way a man of first-rate qualities hides his potential virtues behind an expressionless face. Get rid of your superior airs and your multitudinous requirements, of your mannerisms; and your inordinate desires, none of which can be of any advantage to your body. This is all I have to say to you." Confucius, in leaving the scene of his rebuff, said to his pupils : " I know the capacity of a bird to fly, of a fish to swim, of a beast to get along ; the last you can trap, the others take with a rod or an arrow ; but when it comes to dragons, I am ignorant of how they ride the winds and clouds up to Heaven. Lao-tsz, whom I have seen to-day, would seem to be of the dragon kind." Sz-ma Ts'ien's narrative then goes on to say : " Lao-tsz cultivated *Tao* (that ' way ' which is proper) and *Têh* (that which is kind or good), and his teachings laid stress upon self-effacement and absence of glory. He stayed a considerable time at the Imperial Court, and then, observing its decrepitude, he left for the ' Pass ' (*i. e.* the frontier of Confederated China at the Yellow River bend near modern Si-an fu, which then belonged to a state outside the federal system). The officer in charge, one Yin Hi, said : ' If you are going to disappear into retirement, Sir, I hope you will make a book for me.' On this Lao-tsz made a book in two parts, discussing the meaning of *Tao* and *Têh*, and consisting of over 5000 words. Then he left and his end is unknown."

The above account is sober enough, and the fact that nothing more was known to Sz-ma Ts'ien of Lao-tsz's private or public life, so far from weakening the truth of what is related, really strengthens it, for it tends to give us confidence in the integrity and circumspection of the historian. Besides one of Lao-tsz's strongest principles was his desire for privacy, and one of his most persistent recommendations to all was to avoid hero-worship and publicity. In any case it is no more suspicious and wonderful that we should know more of the bustling Confucius than of the morose Lao-tsz, than it is that we should know almost nothing of the saturnine Juvenal and almost everything of the sociable gentleman Horace. Sz-ma Ts'ien gives us the names and employments of Lao-tsz's son and grandson. The great-great-grandson of this grandson held office under the second Han Emperor, and *his* son again was instructor to a Royal Prince in Shan Tung, which has

always been the Taoist stronghold. Some words are necessary to explain Lao-tsz's position at the Imperial Court.

Without going back to the more ancient and holy "Emperor" dynasties, suffice it to say that since 1122 B.C. the dynasty of Chou had ruled imperially with the more mundane title of "Kings." The whole of confederated China, which was then practically confined to the north of the Yangtze, was, with the exception of the immediate kingly domain (say modern Ho Nan), parcelled out into feudal principalities akin in principle to the nomes of ancient Egypt. In the time of Lao-tsz and Confucius, the King, or Pharaoh, was, as in Egypt at various periods, to many intents merely *primus inter pares*, and the more powerful nomes, roughly corresponding with modern Shen Si, Shan Si, Chih Li, Shan Tung, and the two Kiang, were beginning to arrogate rival royal dignities, and even to fight for quasi-imperial supremacy. Lao-tsz, himself a native of the last-named nome, observing from his advantageous standpoint as Archive Keeper for the King that the throne of Pharaoh was surely collapsing, at last shook the dust of politics from his feet and took himself to the western frontier. In after ages, not then, there arose traditions of his having passed by Khoten, converted the Tartars, and so on; but these mere traditions are almost worthless. Confucius, as a prominent man in a petty Ducal nome (part of modern Shan Tung), also did his best, according to his lights, in order to stay the prevailing licence and anarchy. It must be remembered that books were cumbrous objects in those days, being mere slips of wood or bamboo scratched or painted with a style, like the flexible material still used in India and Tibet; and, though the reputation of both philosophers was manifestly extensive, it is only reasonable to suppose that their best and most pithy sayings were chiefly spread by word of mouth, or by sporadic slips containing, each, one or two sententious utterances; very much as our own "texts" are hawked about or illuminated to adorn cottage mantelpieces withal. Hence when the famous Lao-tsz got to the "Pass"—to the Alps, so to speak—the frontier officer, himself a student of philosophy, naturally desired to save as much of him from oblivion as possible before he committed philosophical suicide and disappeared for good. Lao-tsz then probably spent a few months in pleasant retirement, jotting

down, in the laconic form so inseparable from laborious and clumsy writing materials, the heads of his philosophy, the details of which would, as he knew, at once suggest themselves to the mind of each interested student. Even at the present day it is a favourite practice with disappointed ex-Viceroy and Governors to spend their final days in philosophical obscurity as pilgrims or hermits. I have known one such. Between 516 and 504 what Lao-tsz had feared actually took place. The King, Pharaoh, or Emperor, became a plaything in the hands of the most powerful nome for the moment. The nomes went on fighting incessantly until about 360 B.C., when the westernmost unfederated nome of Ts'in (Shen Si), which for 500 years had been regarded as half barbarian, rejoined the Chinese political system, and through its superior energy and organization set about the deliberate absorption one by one of all the other nomes, including at last the royal domain; and finally in 221 unified the Empire under the new dynasty of "August Emperors," the Imperial title still in use. In 213 B.C. the monarch who achieved all this, growing impatient at the criticisms of political and philosophers, resolved to put an end to both learning and literary men, so far as their existence tended to thwart his revolutionary schemes. As this identical monarch allowed himself "a hundred and thirty-three pounds weight of despatch reading" a day, it is comparatively easy to imagine what a "book" must have meant: it must have been as unwieldy as the baked clay of Babylonia. Probably, indeed, the ownership of every important book in the Empire was well known to virtuosos; and when we read of all books except those on agriculture, medicine, and divination being destroyed (an act, says Professor Chavannes, for which there was already a Western precedent in Alexander's similar treatment of the Persian books on religion and philosophy), we must simply assume that well-known works, too bulky to hide, were called in and destroyed so far as it was possible to get at the owners. Meanwhile the new dynasty was as unable to digest its enormous conquest as it was to conciliate a number of populations with conflicting traditions, already restless through five hundred years of incessant intrigue and war, and shocked at the attacks on their cherished local peculiarities or traditions. After a contest of six years with rival adventurers, the Prince of Han

at last in 202 B.C. got rid of all serious opposition and founded the Han dynasty, with which the Chinese system, as we now see it, may be said to begin : to this day a Chinaman calls himself " a man of Han " and the Chinese language the " Han speech." The succeeding Emperors had leisure to hunt for the remains of the destroyed literature, and it was with the assistance of as much of this as he could scrape together that Sz-ma T'an, assisted by his son Sz-ma Ts'ien, set about composing the first great universal history already described, which has formed the constructive model for all succeeding dynastic histories. It is scarcely too much to say that this history is almost the sole authority for all we know historically about Lao-tsz and Taoism, for Sz-ma Ts'ien failed not to consult, and was in a unique position for consulting, all other recovered works of antiquity that may have borne upon the subject ; and it must be remembered that if we possess now the writings of Lieh-tsz and other Taoist writers antecedent to Sz-ma Ts'ien, *their* books, as well as Lao-tsz's own book, had to be " rehabilitated " after the holocaust, and thus lie under exactly the same doubts and disadvantages so far as their genuineness is concerned. Now let us see what Sz-ma Ts'ien (apart from Lao-tsz's life) has to say further upon the general subject of Taoism. In Chapter 80 he tells us that when the founder of the Han dynasty was passing through the southern part of modern Chih Li, he made inquiries for and enrolled the grandson of a famous general who had, seventy years earlier, challenged the pretensions of the revolutionary Ts'in invader. He goes on to explain that several members of this general's family had fled, before the rising Ts'in conquest, to modern Shan Tung, where one of them subsequently became a distinguished leader and expounder of Hwang Ti's and Lao-tsz's sayings : " He learned from A, who studied under B, who sat at the feet of An-k'i-shêng, whose instructor was a person of unknown antecedents called Ho-shang Chang-jên." These two last-named persons are well known to Taoist traditions, even though the date and particulars of their existence be not historically established, and An-k'i-shêng is stated by the same traditions to have advised the conquering Emperor of Ts'in to send a mission under one Sū Shī to the then semi-mythical " Isles of the East " (Japan). Sz-ma Ts'ien's history mentions this mission of Sū Shī as having taken place

in 219 B.C., and to that extent, therefore, tradition is confirmed by history. But there is more : the member of the emigrating family who thus studied Taoism is said to have himself taught it to a personage named Koh-kung, and in his 54th Chapter Sz-ma Ts'ien mentions that the statesman Ts'ao Ts'an, who became premier to the new Han dynasty and died in 190 B.C., heard of Koh-kung's proficiencies in Hwang-Lao (*i. e.* Hwang Ti and Lao-tsz's teaching), sent for him, and received his advice. Another counsellor to the new Han dynasty, named K'wai Ch'êh (for *tabu* reasons changed a generation or two later to K'wai T'ung) is said in Sz-ma Ts'ien's 94th Chapter to have been a personal friend of An-k'i-shêng. In Chapter 127 the character of an "oracle" named Sz-ma Ki-chu (probably a relative of the historian) is discussed : as this prophet was a friend of the well-known counsellor Kia I, who died in 179 B.C., we can be approximately sure of his date ; some of the conversations of this witty and jovial "oracle," together with two quotations cited by him from Lao-tsz's most celebrated aphorisms, must have been then as much common property in China as the sayings of Cicero in Rome during the Antonine period. In Chapter 56 the statesman Ch'ên P'ing, who died in 178 B.C., is said to have remarked that "the Taoists disapprove of such underhand schemes ;" and the historian Sz-ma Ts'ien himself remarks of Ch'ên P'ing that "when young he was fond of Hwang Ti's and Lao-tsz's craft." In Chapter 101 it is stated that, after the judicial murder of the minister Ch'ao Ts'o in 154 B.C., his esquire Têng Kung (or Têng Sien) came prominently forward as a counsellor, but that he shortly afterwards resigned his official honours to his son, and devoted himself to the "words of Hwang-Lao." It will be noticed that in all these cases the "craft" or the "words" are spoken of, which fact suggests once more the existence of a widely distributed and ancient system of thought, quite independently of any specific book. But in Chapter 121 a story is related of the second Han Emperor's widow, who died in 135 B.C., during the reign of her grandson, twenty-two years after her husband's death. She was a great admirer of Lao-tsz's *book*, and when, in discussing its merits with the minister Yüan Ku, the latter incautiously stigmatized its contents as "the language of a serf," she ordered him into the outhouse to assist in slaughtering swine.

The second great history, the *Han Shu*, covering from the date, 220 B.C., much the same ground as the latter section of Sz-ma Ts'ien's work, but carried down to A.D. 25, gives a list of all the important works known at head-quarters about 9 B.C., the date of the death of the compiler of the list. Notwithstanding the holocaust of 213 B.C., the writings of 596 authors, in 13,269 books or chapters, were then available. Amongst these were four exegetical works on Lao-tsz, whose book had—owing to Imperial predilections—now become a "classic"; amongst these four was one by the compiler himself, who was a member of the Imperial family. Included in this catalogue are quite a number of works relating to the semi-mythical Emperor Hwang Ti (2700 B.C.), a sort of Chinese Khammurâbi, who is, however, only mythical in the sense that we cannot of course trust mere tradition, and that there are no extant authentic documents surviving to check that tradition. There can be little doubt that Lao-tsz in the sixth century B.C. simply gave a name (*Tao*) to a floating group of ethical principles already for many centuries spread far and wide over China, and already known as the Maxims of Hwang Ti. It is not to be presumed that a capable race like the Chinese had been, during their long rise to Empire, destitute of any thinking system. One of the score or more of books on (*not* by) Hwang Ti enumerated in the above-mentioned catalogue is called "Hwang Ti on Prince and Subjects"; and an undated, unsigned note adds, "even dating from Fighting State times (481-221 B.C.), and very like (the book of) Lao-tsz." The author of the *Han Shu*, Pan Ku, died in A.D. 92: his brother, General Pan Ch'ao, had extensive and almost exclusive diplomatic dealings with India, Parthia, Bactria, and Khoten: his nephew Pan Yung wrote the notes from which were long afterwards made up the "Foreign Country" chapters of the *Later Han Shu*.

Buddhism was introduced into China in A.D. 65, and Pan Yung is the first man to mention it. The immediate point, however, is this: that the authors of the *Han Shu* make all their remarks upon Taoism whilst knowing of the existence of Buddhism, and therefore whilst competent to suggest any early connection between the two, if there ever was any. In his 53rd Chapter Pan Ku tells us that Liu Têh, Prince of Hokien, one of the sons of the third Han Emperor, was not only a

very learned man, but was an indefatigable searcher for and purchaser of old books : he adds that the specimens he secured were genuine old pre-Ts'in dynasty books (*i. e.* works dating from before the 213 B.C. holocaust), and that he was much more successful in this respect than his kinsman the Prince of Hwai-nan (*i. e.* the Taoist author known as Hwai-nan-tsz). Pan Ku goes on to say that amongst the rare copies Liu Têh secured were the *Book of History*, the *Book of Rites*, the *Record of Rites*, "Mencius," and "Lao-tsz." The Prince in question died in 122 B.C., having been impelled on political grounds to commit suicide, and it is his kinsman Liu Hiang, the compiler of the catalogue above mentioned, to whom we are indebted for securing from oblivion the ill-starred writings of a disgraced relative. Since the book of Lao-tsz (commonly eponymously called "Lao-tsz," just as the book of Mencius is called "Mencius") had become thoroughly well known and reached the dignity of a classic or "orthodox," the name of his semi-mythical inspirer Hwang Ti had ceased to be invariably coupled with his name, and it had become a practice to speak of Lao-Chwang instead, *i. e.* of Lao-tsz and one of his chief developers, the "wag" Chwang-tsz, whose works are still extant. There is no better known name of the second class in China than that of the philosopher Yang-tsz (died A.D. 18), who, beside founding an "average" system of his own by pruning off and reconciling the incompatibilities of three other schools, is also known as a philologist, a folk-lorist, and in fact gives his name to the Yangtsze "Kiang," or "River," a *part* of which, near Nanking, was so called from the "Bridge of Yang-tsz," a village, I believe, still existing. This man was of the fifth generation in descent from a member of his family who fled in 116-110 B.C. into modern Sz Ch'wan : so Pan Ku tells us in his 81st Chapter.

In his 72nd Chapter he informs us that Yang-tsz studied Lao-Chwang in Sz Ch'wan under a scholar named Yen Kün-p'ing.

I have thus brought the strictly historical account of Taoism down to the times when, corrupted by Buddhism, alchemy, and chicanery, it lost its purity, *i. e.* its ancient metaphysico-ethical character, and degenerated into charlatanry ; but it must never be forgotten that the distinction between the noble Taoist philosopher of the old (pre-Christian) era and the Taoist twaddle

of our said era is as great as the distinction between the noble teachings of Christ and the twaddle of the Mormon Joe Smith or of the Jezreelites. Still, pure old Taoism yet exists, and yet governs the highest Chinese minds. In Genghiz Khan's time a Taoist recluse was summoned by the conqueror all the way from Shan Tung to Samarcand in order to submit his views upon the *Tao* of Genghiz's plans. If I have laid particular stress in this sketch upon the purely historical aspect of the case, it is to show that the hasty assumptions of European critics cannot be sustained, and that Taoism has as trustworthy and consecutive history as most other ancient things Chinese. Though American and European writers may have failed to elucidate any new historical fact about Taoism, it is impossible to deny that, being all as familiar with, as Chinese are ignorant of, the elements of science, logic, order, and religious philosophy, they have succeeded better than the Chinese themselves, not in depreciating, but in expressing articulately the real worth of Lao-tsz's guiding principles. There is already quite a formidable European literature on the subject, to which are now referred those readers who are curious to know exactly what Rémusat, Pauthier, Julien, Chalmers, Von Strauss, Planckner, Von Gabelenz, Edkins, Balfour, Giles, de Harlez, Legge, Chavannes, Vasileff, Konishi, Spurgeon-Medhurst, McLagan, and Carus think about the matter. It is a noteworthy fact that many students whose names are unknown in the field of "positive" sinology yet hold themselves competent to expound what Confucius found far above him. The philosopher Lao-tsz himself expresses regret that he cannot put the full scope of his thought into human language. Confucius, as we have seen, "qualified" the flight of the dragon in such a cynical way that it is evident (to borrow our own homely English phraseology) he thought the mental food provided was "neither fish, flesh, fowl, nor even good red herring." It was Rémusat who first discovered the word Jehovah; Edkins the Babylonian Trinity; Chalmers hints at trash; Giles at forgery, fraud, theft, impudence, and all manner of wicked things. Perhaps the most sensible remarks upon the subject have been written by Professor Chavannes, of Paris, by the Japanese Mr. Konishi, and in a modest humble way by the Protestant missionaries Spurgeon-Medhurst and McLagan, the former writing from the Taoist

stronghold of Shan Tung. Quite recently Professor Dvorák of Prague has summed up the results of their combined labours in a singularly calm and dispassionate essay of two hundred pages (*Lao-tsi und Seine Lehre*, Münster, 1903), adding very capable appreciations of his own, by which he seeks to show that Lao-tsz's system as expressed in his book was not jerky, but was continuous and consistent with itself throughout. Unfortunately the German language, itself apt to become obscure and involved—as is amply proved by the Emperor William's recent efforts to decree the shortening of sentences and the relegations of the verb into its right place—is not a good vehicle for expression with lucidity of extremely abstruse ideas : even Hegel and Kant would be more intelligible to “unrevealed” nations if their best thoughts were expressed in short French sentences.

Before attempting to define what Lao-tsz's brain was continually revolving, I will endeavour to prepare the Western reader's mind for it by suggesting to him historical characters well known to him who either did or did not, according to my own poor lights, possess *tao*. Abraham possessed more of it than either Isaac or Jacob. Moses would hardly qualify, while Joseph seems to have possessed a very fair share of it. Perhaps of all Biblical characters Job comes the nearest to Lao-tsz's ideal ; but neither Elijah nor Elisha was up to the mark. The character of Jesus Christ seems to conform with almost all of Lao-tsz's requirements, and moreover to have included a courtesy and a gentleness to which the Chinese sage was a stranger ; but Lao-tsz could scarcely have approved a doctrine which taught happiness and salvation in another life as a personal reward for self-restraint in this. Buddha was decidedly well-equipped with *tao*. European critics compare Lao-tsz with Plato, Socrates, and Seneca ; but Socrates' ideas of morality and pleasure, as Seneca's notions of laying by stores of wealth, would scarcely have satisfied the stern requirements of the Far Eastern philosopher. The calm and resigned temperament of Marcus Aurelius approaches very closely to that which recommended itself to Lao-tsz's contemplation : indeed the philosophical reflections of this singularly serene Emperor might well have come from the mouth of one who sought his supreme inspiration in *tao*. Julian the Apostate possessed much more

of it than Constantine the Great. Mahomet was in almost every respect a *taoless* man. Dante cannot lay claim to its possession, nor can Rabelais; and the more we advance towards modernity the fewer men do we find of a kind to qualify. The whole theory of modern life, with its luxury, rivalry, conventionality, energy, restlessness, and inconsistency, is in glaring opposition to what Lao-tsz admired and recommended. Lord Bacon's meannesses did not by any means deprive him of considerable claims to *tao*. Even Charles the Fifth drifted towards the mysterious goal when he grew tired of empire and retired into a monastery. There was not one atom of *tao* in Napoleon's composition; almost as little in that of Bismarck. The Emperor Frederick had manifold more *tao* than his father or his son, notwithstanding that the latter some years ago evolved a "revelationary" *tao* of his own. Pope Pius the Ninth had no *tao*, but Leo the Thirteenth had much *tao*. Though from most Englishmen's point of view Gladstone was a higher-minded man than Disraeli, yet his self-consciousness and plausible elasticity are less *taoistic* than the *laissez-faire*, reposefulness, and cynicism of his rival. Huxley possessed little *tao*, nor did Herbert Spencer approach the Chinese ideal. On the other hand, the indefinable repose, perfect patience, and unaffected humility of Darwin's character marks him out as one of the most perfect specimens of *tao* it is possible to conceive of in a Western mind. To a certain extent Count Tolstoy may lay claim to a high degree of *taoistic* merit; but the ruggedness of his earlier career and his struggle with passion have rather made him "attain to" than possess by nature that which Darwin had naturally born in him. There must be something noble in *tao* when Job, Buddha, Jesus Christ, Pope Leo, and Charles Darwin combine to suggest the best expression of it, even to an inferior man's mind.

Lao-tsz seems to have thought out to the best of his ability a standard by which men might regulate their actions in imitation of the immutable laws of nature. But as he, like all his countrymen then, was totally ignorant of even the mere elements of natural science, it seems rather too much to expect from him clearness in metaphysics, when he had but the slenderest grasp of the pure physics upon which to found his metaphysical speculations. His services to mankind lie rather in

the few intelligible words by which he has touched their consciences and their sympathies, than in the cloudy abstractions by which he has endeavoured to express what was only vaguely shaping itself in his own mind. Since he thought out his own system, 2500 years have elapsed ; science has laid bare many of Nature's secrets, and all religions have had a fair trial ; yet the ruler of the most " thinking " nation in the world, starting with Khammurâbi, cannot suggest to us a higher " revealed " *tao* than that embodied in that rough-hewn monarch William the First. Every one at all susceptible to the charms of music will recognize and remember the " grand sensation of possibilities " which swells out the imagination so long as the faultless music continues to tickle the ears and stimulate the mind, but disappears in favour of lobster and porter the instant the hungry body which carries the noble soul emerges into the street. Every one without exception will recollect the " magnificent solutions " which present themselves to the mind during a restless sleep ; but (as Prince Bismarck once plaintively remarked) " nothing of value was ever deduced from these great thoughts in the waking hours." If Lao-tsz had had the faintest glimmering of gravity, attraction, the spherical forms of celestial bodies, oxygen, carbon, electricity, and so on, he would undoubtedly have managed to give us a more intelligible metaphysic. The German temperament seems to be specially interested in his profound speculation ; Von Strauss solemnly discusses what Lao-tsz means by his Female Principles and Guiding Law ; but, in view of the utter insignificance of secular man, not to mention one slight specimen of local man 2500 years ago, do they not exaggerate the intrinsic importance of the " Great Thinker " ? Of what consequence was it, is it, or can it ever be, how tremendously a man thinks unless he can think out something which either explains some force of Nature or suggests a rule we can all understand ? Lao-tsz, sitting amongst his rude plank books, pored over the reports of the nerve-shaking events that were going on in the active world around him. During his leisure hours, which must have been many, he contemplated the regular movements of the stars and planets ; the natural progress of growth, healing, and decay ; the alternately bright and gloomy succession of seasons ; the delightful effects of truth, kindness,

and sympathy ; the hateful aspects of jealousy, envy, cruelty, and greed. He himself tells us he was ignored and neglected ; that other men were enjoying themselves whilst he was left moping alone ; that common folk seemed somehow to have their heads screwed on the right way, and to know exactly what they wanted, whilst he himself alone with his " Mother *Tao* " was all awry, and doubtful what he would be at. So far as beauty of language and clearness of thought goes, old Job on his dunghill seems far and away a better, if a less pretentious, philosopher than Lao-tsz amongst his books. The essence of Lao-tsz's philosophy seems to be this :—

Whatever be your position in life, keep a calm and placid mind. Do not make work, or violently agitate the *status quo*. If anything gets out of gear, go quietly to work and make the organic machine move smoothly as before. Do not exaggerate your own importance. You are a mere carcass, whoever you are. If you feel that you have the makings of a man in you, do not brag of it or make a fuss ; but do your best, so that every one and everything with whom and with which you are brought into contact may derive orderly benefit from your manhood. Strive to regulate your acts according to the example of the manifestly reasonable and harmonious workings of Nature around you. Rain, sunshine, wind, light—these all counter-balance and compensate each other. Each does good, and each may do harm unless balances be adjusted when occasion calls for it and admits of it. Do not be afraid of dying ; and then death, which *must* come, will be deprived of its horrors. If you feel superior to other men, act up to it ; but do not by vulgar self-consciousness show that you are aware of it, and do not take pleasure in asserting your superiority. Do not be too eager to sit in judgment on other men ; wars and execution may be necessary, but there are always persons whose special proclivities or circumstances qualify them better than you to knock out other men's brains or cut off their heads. If you are a ruler, do not worry the people with innumerable regulations. Leave the people alone to consult their own inclinations. Benevolence is rather an offensive virtue than otherwise, for the mere idea of it connotes inferiority and misery of one man, and the condescending patronage of another ; but I cannot give you a cast-iron rule for all hypothetical sets of circumstances. If my *Tao*, or

“road,” could be indicated with absolute precision of direction, it would be an artificial road, along which people were *forced* to go ; whereas I wish to express a natural and universal road which, when once appreciated in principle, *carries* you along under *all* circumstances. I cannot *name* all possible conditions ; if I tried to do so, then universality would cease, and by the mere act of including or naming I should exclude other possibilities. It is better to know as much as possible and to feel that you do not know enough, than to know insufficiently and yet to think you know all that can be known. Do not aim at possession ; the more possessions, the more cares. Do not indulge the senses ; the more you indulge the more you are a slave to want. Knowledge is never final. Nothing is final. My *Tao* preceded any existence of which we can form a conception ; and it helped concrete existence to begin, as also to continue. Any apparent end to anything is and must be in accordance with the same *tao*. It is not only by faith in *tao*, or by mere believing that there is a *tao*, that you can act up to *tao*. What is the use of being deliberately formal and ceremonious when we are all equal ? If one man is really superior to another, he drifts naturally into the position of ruler, but he is not visibly conscious of his superiority, nor does he glory in it : nor is a ruler superior to the ruled merely because he is ruler. Knowledge is apt to be mischievous, so far as it consists of ornamental acquirements. The people should not be educated, but simply guided along the *tao* by those who know the *tao* and have the handling of the *tao*.

I might go on *ad infinitum*, and of course each of these laconic exhortations in the original words gives rise to endless possibilities in the way of later comment. Out of vague and indefinite thinking enough food can be extracted for aeons of discussion and argument. Not to go back 2500 years to a few speculative texts put together by a primitive recluse, let us simply take the Emperor William the Second's development of “revelations,” and picture to ourselves how 2000 years hence the saying of a mythical Emperor might be discussed and argued by future savants, after the re-discovery of his Imperial censure on the “dragon” Delitzsch. Did the Emperor write it himself, or was it prompted ? Are these the ideas of twentieth-century civilization, or only German ideas ? In what way

does William the First suggest to William the Second a link in the chain with Khammurâbi? And so on. So it was with Taoism. To the busy active world it is really of minimum importance what the greatest thinker thinks, unless he can in some way further our tangible relations with Nature. It is not the Lao-tsz', the Hegels, and the Kants who grease the wheels of our mysterious human machine, but the Newtons, Harveys, Edisons, Röntgens, and Marconis. Meanwhile at least eighty per cent. of mankind finds it hard to secure a square meal with regularity.

CHAPTER II

THE TAOIST 'RELIGION'

IT is a significant fact that, whilst comparatively so little has yet been done in the fields of Chinese etymology and history, where an ample supply of exact knowledge is at hand, almost every foreigner who has either seriously studied or superficially toyed with Chinese philosophical literature, where everything is so vague, considers himself at liberty to expatiate upon *Taoism*, although Confucius himself frankly declared it to be rather beyond his comprehension, even when explained by the *Taoist* prophet himself. Personally I have, for better or for worse, succeeded in surviving the nineteenth century without falling a victim to the fashionable cacoëthes; and if, after thirty-five years of dalliance with Chinese books, I at last (in 1903) yield to the tempter, I may at least be permitted to plead in palliation that I only commit in my approaching dotage that rash act which others have perpetrated in the heyday of their youth and fame.

As the sole authorities upon *Taoism*, and upon Lao-tsz, its prophet, are in the most absolute sense the Chinese themselves, it is plain that I am not committing an indiscretion when in the first instance I totally ignore all that foreigners have written upon the subject, and proceed to state what I conceive the original evidence to be. So far as I can see, all non-Chinese critics, in their eagerness for polemical fray, have forgotten this all-important preliminary point: that is, they have omitted to first tell the general reader what the native story is; and they have all incontinently gone on to say what they themselves think the native story ought to be. I simply state the facts, so far as I can extract sense out of words as they appear to my understanding; and where I cannot make sense, I am content to say—with Confucius—"these dragon-flights are too high for me." I am not going to charge my story with the dead-weight of references to books, and with

uncouth Chinese names ; but any one who requires chapter and book from me on any specific point shall have it. So now I proceed.

Like most early nations, the primitive Chinese had religious or superstitious notions connected with the sun, the moon, the stars ; with the forces of nature, such as wind, storm, organic life, death ; and so on. These sentiments gradually took concrete form in the shape of worship and sacrifice, and have continued to do so concurrently with competing doctrines up to our own day. There that particular form of "religion" may be left : we need say no more about it, for every man can understand it, even if he deride it.¹ But, as civilization advanced—and more particularly after the substitution, by a new dynasty in the twelfth century B.C., of the feudal system of states under the King for the more ancient patriarchal system of direct submission under the Emperor, together with sundry other social reforms—there grew up political rivalries between the rival princely courts. The period 480 to 230 B.C. is usually known to Chinese historians as the "Fighting States Period," *i. e.* it was the restless but active time during which the contending feudal states were gradually throwing off the control of the central Kings, and were aiming at independent and even dictatorial powers for themselves : it was during this period of mental tension that Chinese philosophy attained its greatest heights, or flights ; and, curiously enough, this period coincided with that of analogous mental activity in Greece, India, and elsewhere. Of course, no man can say what *may* have occurred : there is not a tittle of *evidence to show* that any Western thought was brought to bear upon China previously to 150 B.C.

Now from the most ancient times the word *Tao*, "a road, a (proper) way," had been extensively employed in Chinese classical literature, so far as we know of such literature ; and the thinking order of men, as distinguished from the vulgar and the superstitious, had gradually come to employ it in the sense of the "principle of right." Moreover, although the thinking schools of the Fighting States Period varied in point of method, yet there seems to have been a general consensus of opinion that one of the semi-mythical rulers, Hwang Ti, the

¹ Mr. J. J. M. De Groot has published a book on it this year (1910).

Yellow Emperor, supposed to have lived in the second half of the third millennium before Christ, had bequeathed a number of venerable precepts touching man's social and public duties. The recent discoveries in Egypt and Babylonia encourage us to believe that the Chinese traditions are likely to be as genuine as those about Thûtmosis and Khammurâbi, which have now become facts. Whether the ancient masterword *Tao* had, previously to the date of Lao-tsz, become definitely associated with the Yellow Emperor's metaphysical and ethical precepts is not certain; but, during the sixth century before Christ—say a century before the Fighting States Period—a keeper of the archives at the royal Court began to acquire a wide reputation throughout federated China on account of his new development of *Tao*; with special reference, according to later writers of the school, to the supposed precepts of the Yellow Emperor. This archive-keeper was named Li Êrh, and after his death Li Tan, the words Êrh and Tan both referring to some peculiarity in the shape of his ears. But even during his life he was commonly known as Lao-tsz, or the "Old One"; and after his death as Lao-tan, or "Old Ears." His celebrity became so great that, in the latter part of the sixth century B.C., Confucius, who was also then making a pedagogical name for himself in one of the feudal states, paid a special visit to the royal capital, in order to obtain from Lao-tsz (who, according to some, had already once been either in the flesh or by correspondence his tutor) further information about rites and ceremonies as practised at the recognized centre of civilization. Confucius' great object was to maintain social decency and the royal power. Lao-tsz was already a disappointed man: disgusted with the supine luxury of the royal Court, the dissipation and warlike ambition of the feudal states, and the lax conduct of all classes of men, he already foresaw the imminent collapse of China, and was resolving to betake himself into timely exile and solacing obscurity. He accordingly gave Confucius a somewhat surly reception, laying particular stress on his vain and useless striving after perishable and unprofitable things. In leaving the Sage's presence, Confucius remarked somewhat ironically to his pupils that he knew what birds were, what fish were, and what animals were; and also, at a pinch, how to get hold of and deal with

them ; but he confessed that the " dragon-flights of this Lao-tsz heavenward " were altogether beyond his comprehension.

Not many years after this, Lao-tsz really did quit civilization, and made for the " Pass," near the Yellow River bend, a little to the eastward of modern Si-an Fu. The " Pass " was then practically the western frontier of federated China, and beyond it lay the powerful state of Ts'in, which ever since the ninth century B.C. had lain outside the pale, and had become, in the minds of the more orthodox federals, a semi-barbarous or foreign country—destined, however, soon to conquer China. The royal officer in charge of the " Pass " did not like to see so distinguished a philosopher as Lao-tsz disappear into space without leaving behind something of his doctrine to show to future generations, so he begged him to " write a book first." (It must be explained that " books " were then thin plates of wood or bamboo, painfully painted, scratched upon, or cut into with a style ; that composition was laconic ; and that the written character was much more clumsy and bulky than it is now.) Lao-tsz did so ; and after that he went West, nothing more ever being heard of him. Many centuries later there were traditions of his having passed through Khoten : all further developments of these traditions are mere " yarns." It is supposed that one of his disciples may have obtained this book from the keeper of the " Pass," and may have subsequently given it out for copying ; but there is no specific evidence upon this point, although under the name Kwan-yin-tsz the said keeper himself has left us a work on *Taoism*.

Confucius died 479 B.C., just at the beginning of the true Fighting States Period ; and Lao-tsz had died, or rather had disappeared, about thirty-five years before him, both having failed, each following his own lights, to stay the revolutionary tide. The Empire of the Chou dynasty, which had reigned over 700 years, was then in full process of dissolution, at least so far as the conservative moral forces were concerned ; but during the 250 years between this moral disintegration and the physical conquest of China by Ts'in (modern Shen Si), there were many intellectual struggles : a share was taken in them by numerous writers on *Taoism*, most of them citing the Yellow Emperor and Lao-tsz as—so to speak—the god and the prophet of that creed : Lao-tsz himself had not credited

the Yellow Emperor with the same stimulus. I may here state, in order to throw light upon Chinese nomenclature, that the termination *tsz* has, in real effect, almost precisely the same indefinite meaning as the Latin *us*, *ius*, or *cius*: that is, such *Taoist* writers as Lieh-tsz, Chwang-tsz, and Hwang-tsz may be fairly Latinized as Licius, Sancius, and Vancius; just as Mencius and Confucius stand for Mêng-tsz and K'ung-tsz: the additional syllable *fu* simply confers a higher degree of moral status, and we may equally well say Concius for Confucius, Menfucius for Mencius, and Laucius for Lao-tsz. As Lao-tsz had already attained "world-" wide celebrity before he wrote his 5000-word book at the "Pass," we may justly assume that all his sayings, memorable and otherwise, had enjoyed a wide publication in book or pamphlet form, not to speak of enjoying oral vogue, long before he was invited by the keeper to jot down as an *aide-mémoire* the heads of his discourses in the way they have since come down to us. Thus we find Lieh-tsz, who lived a century after Lao-tsz, or Lao-tan as he calls him, giving the "Yellow Emperor's book" as the authority for passages of his own, which also appear in Lao-tsz's book; and Chwang-tsz, who, again a century later, wrote sustained *Taoist* philosophy in a somewhat waggish spirit of levity, paraphrasing or recasting sentences found in the same work. It is not stated that either of them ever saw it, nor was it at all indispensable for their own purposes that they should see a text-book for the philosophy they knew so well from wider sources. At this time, the current way of describing *Taoism* was "the craft (or words, or books) of Hwang-ti¹ (*i. e.* the Yellow Emperor) and Lao-tsz," or, more shortly, "Hwang-Lao." In the same way, just as the book of Mencius was for brevity simply styled "Mencius," so the book of Lao-tsz was simply styled "Lao-tsz"; precisely as we, at this day, use the word "Shakespeare" to denote Shakespeare's works.

When, towards the close of the third century B.C., the outlying and only half-Chinese state of Ts'in, having, about a hundred years previously, been readmitted into federal councils, proceeded to annex one Chinese state after the other,

¹ Not to be confused with *Hwang-ti*, the title of "August Emperor," now still in use; the initial of which, *Fwang*, differs in some dialects from the other, *Hwang*.

and finally to conquer the royal domain and adopt the (still existing) style of Hwang-ti or "August Emperor" of all China, the "First Emperor" of this new dispensation found himself seriously hampered by the political and ethical remonstrances of the various theoretical schools already alluded to; and in order to prevent their "mischievous" agitations from thwarting his ambitious policy, he resolved to destroy, to the extent it lay within his power, so much of the learning stowed away in China as he could lay hands on; only exempting such useful literature as books on agriculture, medicine, astrology (then considered an exact science), and the history of his own half Tartar or half Tibetan state. It is officially stated that he allowed himself a "hundredweight of reading" a day, from which we can well estimate the probable cumbrousness of standard books, seeing that an allowance of reports and dispatches for one day meant a small cart-load. Hence the "locating" and calling in of works, the existence and whereabouts of each one of which in China was probably as well known to the learned as the whereabouts in Europe of each of the Elzevir editions is to our *virtuosi*, would not be so enormous a task as we might at first sight suppose. Some few specific books were specially exempted, even though not falling under the favoured categories, more especially when needed for advanced students. The ancient *Book of Changes*, or the Cosmogony on which *Taoism* is founded, was one; and as the First Emperor is well known and clearly stated to have been under pronounced *Taoist* influence, it is thought possible that Lao-tsz's original book, or one copy of it, may have been another. However that may have been, in 213 B.C. the celebrated massacre of learned men and the destruction of learned books actually took place, so that whether the original "Lao-tsz," or close copies of it, survived or not, at any rate it was, in the absence of specific evidence, in no worse a presumptive plight than the books of Lieh-tsz, Chwang-tsz, Han-fei-tsz, Sün-tsz, and other *Taoist* works, all sustained philosophies, and all written one or more centuries after the production of Lao-tsz's mere heads of doctrine, or, presumably, aids to memory; and therefore, where we have no definite information as to their specific recovery at some date subsequent to the destruction, we are not logically entitled to cite them as

Taoist authorities superior in rank and credibility to Lao-tsz's own book.

The regeneration of China under the self-styled First Emperor was perhaps rather a good thing in itself, but like the European "regeneration" which is now going on there, it was carried out too suddenly, and without sufficient tact. This violence, or *choc d'opinions*, led to revolts, and the result was that in 202 B.C. the jovial, unscrupulous man of the people, who had gradually risen to become Prince of Han by a rapid series of campaigns worthy of comparison with those of Napoleon, at last crushed all competing adventurers, and possessed himself of the ephemeral Ts'in Empire. At least four prominent ministers of this founder of the Han dynasty were under the influence of the *Taoist* doctrine, and there is abundant evidence in the first great national history, which we are shortly about to describe, not only of this, but also of the fact that there were several flourishing "schools" or centres for the study of Hwang-Lao, more especially in the modern provinces of Shan Tung and Sz Ch'wan. But it was not until after the third Han Emperor, one of the grandsons of the first, ascended the throne in 157 B.C., that there was sufficient respite from Scythian wars, local rebellions, and consequent popular distress to enable leading men to secure leisure, and to give their attention to abstract literature. A son of this third Emperor, for instance, specially distinguished himself by his zeal in searching out, purchasing, and collecting as many books as possible dating from the period previous to the holocaust of 213 B.C. Among the individual books thus acquired were "Lao-tsz," the *Book of Rites*, *Record of Rites*, and "Mencius." At the same time, a cousin of his, the Prince of Hwai-nan, though less successful as a collector, specially distinguished himself a generation later as a *Taoist* writer, and is in consequence known to history as Hwai-nan-tsz, or, as we might say, Vainancius. The Emperor (157-143) ordered that "Lao-tsz" should be studied as a school-book throughout the empire. Even the third Emperor's mother was fond "of the craft of Hwang-Lao," and is specifically stated also to have "admired Lao-tsz's book," and to have punished one of her ministers for speaking contemptuously of it. In 139 B.C. two other ministers came to grief at her hands, and for much the same

reason ; and as the prince who discovered a copy of "Lao-tsz" committed suicide, on account of some political intrigue, in 122 B.C., it is not unreasonable to suppose, from the propinquity of the date, that the book she loved so much was a copy of the one, or was the original one, purchased by him ; but we need in no way assume that it was the identical one scratched upon wood in a different, and at that date obsolete character, by Lao-tsz at the "Pass" in 500 B.C. or so.

In the latter part of the reign of the fourth Emperor, that is, of the celebrated Wu Ti, the first discoverer and the part conqueror of Central Asia, the court historians or astrologers (in ancient China, as in ancient Babylonia, much the same thing), Sz-ma T'an, and his son Sz-ma Ts'ien, were industriously engaged in compiling the first genuine history of China. Sz-ma T'an made no secret of his personal preference for *Taoism* over Confucianism and the other rival schools : the chapter in his son's completed work setting forth full grounds for the superiority of the *Taoist* doctrine as conceived by the father, has led even Chinese "Confucian" critics to condemn the son for what were really the pronounced opinions of his parent. Sz-ma T'an had critically studied the doctrine of *Tao* under the Hwang-tsz or Vancius already mentioned, and this Vancius is said by Sz-ma Ts'ien to have disputed on doctrine, in the presence of the third Emperor, with the identical minister who was sent by the Dowager-Empress "to feed the pigs in the farm-yard" as a punishment for ridiculing Lao-tsz's book. Hence the chain of evidence is unbroken.

But already in the joint time of the "First Emperor" and his son the "Second Emperor" of Ts'in (221-207 B.C.), alchemists and charlatans had begun to use a few chance expressions of Lao-tsz, especially those upon immortality and upon the suppression of emotion, in order to foist a system of wizardry and quackery upon the successive emperors, purely in the self-interested hope of attaining rich rewards at Court. Even before the burning of the books, there had been "yarns" about plants of immortality and mysterious genii in the as yet undiscovered, or imperfectly discovered East (Japan) and West (Gobi), neither of which quarters were in the least known, except by vague rumour. Contemporaneously with the discovery of a genuine old copy of Lao-tsz's book, a totally new and

corrupted form of *Taoism* had thus grown up, having little or nothing to do with the genuine ethics connected first with the Yellow Emperor's name, and more or less based on the enigmatical *Book of Changes*; systematized by Lao-tsz; summarized in a book by Lao-tsz; and expounded with the addition of much irrelevant matter by Lieh-tsz (fifth century B.C.), Chwang-tsz (fourth century), Han Fei (honoured by the suffix of a *tsz* as Han-fei-tsz, or Hanfucius (third century), and others. The Han Emperor Wu Ti (141-87 B.C.) was a complete victim to this alchemy and elixir nonsense; but, happily for his reputation, he discovered and confessed his own foolishness some years before he died. With this false *Taoism* and its innumerable later expounders; with the founding (the year after the Crucifixion) of the *Taoist* "popedom," which exists to this day in Kiang Si; with what Mr. Mears calls the "hideous, devouring, devil-worship of to-day," the present paper has nothing to do. The point is, first of all, to establish the absolute historic authenticity both of old *Taoism*, and of the still extant *Taoist* text-book, which has accordingly now been done to the best of our ability from Chinese sources alone; and next, to define, so far as may be possible, the *Taoist* doctrine; adding some final remarks touching the literary wars which have been waged up to date by logomachical savants, and by pugnacious sinologues, real and amateur, over the prostrate carcass of Lao-tsz, and over the "remnants" of his doctrine.

"Lao-tsz's book," "Lao-tsz," "Mr. Lao's book," and "My lord Lao's book," were the only terms at first applied to the above-described work of 5000 odd characters, written to oblige a friend. When, after the vicissitudes of revolutionary change, a copy of the genuine work was favoured by the notice of the Han Emperors and Empresses, it began to be called *king* (a "classic," or "orthodox work") instead of a mere book; and as it was written in two divisions, the one beginning with the word *Tao*, and the other with the word *Têh* (efficacy), in common parlance the work, already styled "Laotsz's *King*," was said to treat of *Tao-têh*, a dissyllable long consecrated by use in the *Book of Changes* and the *Book of Rites*. Hence, the historian, Sz-ma Ts'ien, says that Lao-tsz cultivated this (already ancient) *Tao* and *têh*, and, on invitation

to do so, composed his work in order to discuss their meaning systematically. In process of time the classic gradually became known as the *Tao-têh King*, and under that name, already in the middle of the fourth century A.D., a celebrated calligraphist made a neat transcription of it, which he exchanged with a Taoist priest for a flock of fine geese in the latter's barn-yard. Thus, a thousand years after the work was composed, and long after paper and ink had been invented, we see how comparatively rare and precious the exclusive possession of a well-written classic must have been, and how unlikely it is that many personally-owned copies could have existed in Lao-tsz's time; how unnecessary, therefore, to be cautious in drawing conclusions hostile to its authenticity simply because in Mencius' work, which also ignores the *Book of Changes*, Taoism is totally ignored.

Lao-tsz professes himself quite unable to find a word, or even a circumlocution adequate to define *Tao*, which he only calls "the road" as a make-shift consecrated by frequent usage in the oracular *Book of Changes*; just as we style the mysterious Röntgen rays "*les rayons X*," an expression sanctioned by algebraical usage. *Têh* is an emanation from *Tao*, and signifies that rule of action which naturally follows from faith in *Tao*; not charity or forgiveness, as many have thought: its modern signification as a noun is "virtue," "efficacy," "power for good"; and, again, in verbal senses, "to be grateful for," "to like one for," "to take credit to one's self for." In attempting to describe for the general reader Lao-tsz's intricate train of thought, I shall, also as a make-shift, use the word "Providence" to signify the widest meanings of *Tao*, and the word "Grace" to signify the sense of *Têh*. I shall, moreover, divest the subject so far as I can of its ancient and unfamiliar local surroundings, and proceed as though the philosopher were lecturing in English idiom to the people of our own age.

1. Providence, without origin itself, is the origin of everything; being without body and without palpable existence; invisible, imperceptible, spontaneous, and impalpable. Heaven and Earth have their beginnings in it; that is, in this eternal principle of pure being which determines the Universe. It cannot, being illimitable, be named or defined; and though it is itself the origin of all things, it is also none the less the scene

or theatre in which all celestial, terrestrial, and human events take place. Providence, accordingly, nourishes, completes, and protects all things. A *comprehension* of Providence (apart from *acts*) is obtainable only by faith, and the most guilty men may find salvation in it ; or, at all events, the highest-placed guilty individuals suffer punishment if they be without it. Providence is a mysterious, ever-active existence ; simple ; applicable to all circumstances ; not personified. Providence transcends the power of reason, and is the enduring principle of right. It knows no distinction between spirit, mind, and matter, between what men call existence and non-existence ; it contains all potentialities ; it always rights itself, for all changes are fleeting ; everything, when it has served its purpose, ultimately returns to the place and condition whence it emanated. Providence is incorruptible, perfect, eternal ; without shape or feeling, only perceptible and nameable so far as it is revealed by works. Providence is always restful, yet never idle ; knows no time, limits, or wants ; has no inclinations or preferences ; and absorbs or takes unto itself those who regulate their conduct by faith in it. Its penalties are sharp and prompt. It is omnipresent and immutable. It never takes the form of an injunction or command.

2. A man who regulates his conduct by *and* has faith in Providence avoids display and self-assertion ; is humble, modest, calm, ready for all emergencies, and fearless of death. He endeavours to overcome all bodily desires beyond those necessary for the natural course of life. He is always rich, because contented : his body is always safe, for the mind has no apprehensions : he has no ill-will, and devotes his efforts to the amelioration of others. His disposition is yielding, and he needs no distractions. He takes no pride in success or glory ; in superiority, rank, or dignity : he is equal and equable to all men, without disturbing their respective spheres. He aims at lasting results, and is careful even to the very end of each matter he touches. He looks for no recompense, saves all, injures none, loves mercy, and is slow to judge or condemn. He returns good for good, and retorts with Grace even for evil ; avoids the turmoil of interested striving, preferring thought to speech, meditation to action, and humility to ambition. He endeavours to check the worship of intellectual

power. He prefers reality to appearances, and strives for pure truth. By not yielding to the temptations of indulgence, he avoids feeling the disgust of any satiety; by showing no anxiety to preserve his own life, he suggests to none the possible importance of taking it away. Over-learning leads to vexation; for, when all know how good the good is, then the idea of the not good begins to arise in men's minds. Moderation and self-effacement encourage the survival of the unselfish men, and the practice or study of Providence is conducive to longevity. The natural powers should be economized, and all agitation, mental or physical, studiously avoided; hence continence is as desirable as mental self-restraint and absence of great exertion. The greatest conquest is the conquest of self. Eloquence and argumentativeness are sorry substitutes for honesty and truth. Wisdom is not to be striven for, as it leads to quips, inequalities, and contrasts. The joys of life consist in contemplation. If you feel your superiority, maintain, but do not show it; let other men have the benefit of it without their being humiliated by the aggressive spectacle of your superior powers. Be like water, which always accepts and even seeks the lowest situation, but inevitably penetrates to all lower or equal levels. Providence is of higher quality than Grace, but men who cannot attain to an insight into the former should act up to the latter, which is born of the former. Do not trouble to have any fixed aim in life. The man who has attained to a mental oneness with Providence is superior to the highest rulers.

3. In its political aspect, Providence views the King or Ruler as a Themis or sage, and as forming a fourth party, or one of the four elements, together with Providence, Heaven, and Earth. But, so far as the Ruler is an embodiment of Providence, or so far as Providence may be personified or deified in rulers, Providence is anterior to any such deity, whose paternity cannot be defined. (The use by Lao-tsz of such words as "Heaven," "Deity," is not new, but borrowed for metaphysical purposes from the classics.) The King should avoid luxury, over-legislation, and over-taxation, which tend to the poverty, evasiveness, and misery of the people. In a way he is both the elected of Heaven and the appointed of his people. He should not obtain the throne by violence. His

power is absolute, but he should be tolerant. Too much cooking spoils the fish, as too much handling irritates the people. The King should be sedate, free from levity, and free from inordinate appetites and passions. Laws should be kept in the background, and methods of government should be preserved secret. At the same time, the hand of government should fall lightly, and the ruler should not arrogate prerogatives and preferences. Faith should never be broken. Obtruded laws suggest crimes to bad or vacillating characters. The people should not be raised from their ignorance to the intellectual level of their rulers. Their ideal condition is a full stomach and a vacant mind ; sturdy frames with objectless wills ; passing their lives in quiet enjoyment ; attending peacefully to their affairs, and not concerning themselves with their political neighbours. Restrictions tend to hamper industry ; consequently these should be as few and as simple as possible. At the same time, mechanical skill should not be too much encouraged, as it leads to excessive effort, emulation, and luxury. Interference in the affairs of others is objectionable. Punishments are unavoidable : but let them, notwithstanding, especially when capital, be avoided as far as possible ; let the vindictive aspect yield to the preventive ; let there be no pleasure in punishment, and let the hand provided by Providence be the one alone to take away human life, lest the harsh deed recoil on the meddler with justice. War is, also, sometimes a necessity, but it should be undertaken more in sorrow than in anger, and anything in the shape of triumph or glory should be carefully eschewed : hostilities should cease the instant the end prescribed by Providential considerations is attained. The quality of Grace well becomes a monarch. Be not too ready to quarrel with neighbouring states ; the greater should behave with quiet dignity and courtesy, thus making it the inclination of the smaller to join interests : the smaller should be respectful and deferential, thus avoiding any provocation of the more powerful.

It will thus be seen that, whether we view Lao-tsz from the metaphysical, the ethical, or the political point of view, there is a great deal which is both noble and intelligible in his summarized texts. But it must be remembered that he himself strings his thoughts together in a disjointed way, like mere

"notes," and that the *résumé* I give above is simply the "average" of what all translators seem to agree upon without cavil as being his meaning. I have only two editions of the *Tao-têh King* myself, and I must confess I find the book confused and wearisome reading in the extreme; but it appears to me that modern "thinkers" are inclined to exaggerate the importance of the other and more immature reflections of an old man who, after all, was totally ignorant of physics, science, the world, and of practical, logical methods of expressing himself. However that may be, there is a great deal more matter in "Lao-tsz" which sounds suspiciously like twaddle, and which, though apparently comprehensible to the present-day students of Zoroaster, Plato, Pythagoras, and the Hindoo philosophers soon to be enumerated, is quite as much above my humble intelligence, in spite of the assistance of modern critics, as it was above that of Confucius 2500 years ago without all the modern advantages of co-operation.

For instance, we have the "Spirit of the Valley"; the "dual system"; the fact that "Providence brings forth unity, unity duality, duality trinity, and trinity all things"; the mysterious "female influence, which by stillness overcomes the male, and by stillness subjects herself"; the "female element of gentleness"; the "door at which the soul enters"; not to mention the numerous enigmatic epigrams, alliterations, and laconic tropes, which might mean anything the imagination chooses to suggest. The "Western Mother" and the "gemmy food" of *Lieh-tsz*; the "ascent of Hwang Ti to Heaven" of *Chwang-tsz*; the pill-making of *Hwai-nan-tsz*; and other absurdities, all mark retrograde steps in what was at first true, if imperfect, philosophy. So far as Lao-tsz is intelligible, the Chinese have always taken him at his fair value; and even now there is much in the finest Chinese cultivated character which shows that the better side of old *Taoism* has never ceased to influence men's minds for good. In the eighth century a Chinese emperor edited a new edition of the *Tao-têh King*; Genghiz Khan, when at Samarcand 500 years later, sent all the way to Shan Tung to fetch an old *Taoist* recluse, whose advice on "how to rule the world" he was most anxious to obtain. Kublai Khan burnt all the *Taoist* books except the "one true one," the *Tao-têh King*; and even ✓

the second Emperor of the present dynasty, in describing the origin of earthquakes, refers to the "never idle, yet always at rest" of Lao-tsz's Earth.

In preferring, after deliberate consideration, Confucius to Lao-tsz, the Chinese have, after all, come to the only possible conclusion. Even at its best, *Taoism* could never be a practicable or practical religion in this work-a-day world, and no "pure" philosophy can afford to ignore hunger or the toothache. Against Confucius' activity and zeal for decency, order, subordination, propriety, education, sociability, politeness, ancestral worship, good morals, centralization, duty, musical refinement, political sagacity, etc., etc., *Taoism* can only offer contemplation, inaction, fatalism, mysticism, liberty akin to that of wild animals, ignorance of the masses, exclusiveness and mystery in governing craft; contempt of music and learning, of effort, of refinement; a weak sense of family *pietas* and loyalty—in short, something very like nihilism and anarchy. It is significant that Count Tolstoy, according to Professor Carus, once thought of turning the *Tao-têh King* into Russian. Neither Confucius nor Lao-tsz says anything of women's rights, conscience, remorse, or "subjective" moral law.

Foreign writers of nearly all the prominent countries having material and spiritual interests in China have freely given us the benefit of their opinions upon the abstruse subject of the *Taoist* doctrine, and accordingly the imperfect sketch which I have essayed above will perhaps be made "objectively" clearer if I give in order of date some account of the extraordinarily wide range of "subjective" impressions it has made on other men's minds. The first attempt at translation now on record seems to be the Latin one, a manuscript copy of which was presented in 1788 to the Royal Society. It will be remembered that, in the account of the Nestorian Tablet (A.D. 781) given in the October number of last year's *Dublin Review*, it was explained how largely both the extremely ancient *Book of Changes* and "Lao-tsz" had been drawn upon by the early Christians for abstract terms suitable to express Christian mysteries; and doubtless this fact contributed towards moving one of the Catholic missionaries then (say 1750) in China to prepare the defective translation in question, which translation most probably supplied Voltaire with the slender

store of fact forming the basis of his too facile denunciations. Voltaire, however, like many others both before and after him, failed to distinguish between genuine pre-Buddhist *Taoism*; the romanticism of Lieh-tsz, Chwang-tsz, etc.; and the corrupt charlatanism of later times. The author of the Latin translation appears to have adopted *Ratio* as a rendering of *Tao*, and he endeavoured to show from the language of Lao-tsz that the mystery of the Holy Trinity was known to the ancient Chinese. However much we may disagree with this purely personal view, it is impossible, even from an orthodox Catholic standpoint, to deny the following position:—There is one true God; and it was therefore surely as competent for Lao-tsz to think out what is true as to think out what is false.

“ . . . I deem it true
That He who taught the Christians and the Jews
Perchance taught Lao-tsz too.”¹

In 1820 Rémusat published a memoir upon *Taoism*, and seems to have independently come to the conclusion that traces of the Holy Trinity were discernible therein. But he only translated four chapters of the *Tao-têh King*. Touching Lao-tsz's three qualities of invisibility, inaudibility, and impalpability, by reason of the *i* (smoothness), *hi* (rareness), and *wei* (abstruseness) of *Tao*, Rémusat raised the singular question whether the Hebrew word “Jehovah” might not lie hidden therein: he and Pauthier both translated *Tao* by *raison* and *logos*. Rémusat considered that the doctrines commonly attributed to Pythagoras and Plato were to be found in *Taoism*. Klaproth also contributed a memoir upon the imaginary discovery of Jewish influence. Pauthier's study followed in 1831, and he suggested a similarity between Lao-tsz's views and those of the Hindoo philosophers: he also compared Lao-tsz's speculations with those of Schelling, and entered into the later (*i. e.* worthless) Chinese legendary accounts of the Sage's life and doings. Meanwhile Rémusat's successor Julien had become employed, at the suggestion of Victor Cousin, in translating the whole of the *Tao-têh King*, and his great work has of course greatly lessened and facilitated the labours of most subsequent labourers in the same field. Approaching the

¹ Cf. *Times*, October 31, 1899, p. 9.

subject from a philological or grammatical rather than a spiritual point of view, Julien felt bound to protest against, and to correct, the hazardous assumptions of Rémusat upon the subject of the Trinity doctrine. He preferred to translate *Tao* by the word *voie*. In 1834 Pauthier completed, and in 1838 published in part, a double translation of the *Tao-têh King* in Latin and French, accompanied by a commentary and notes. Although he adheres to the expression *raison suprême*, he incidentally speaks of the God invoked by Lao-tsz as the "Great Way of the World"; which, he thinks, naturally identifies itself with the Greek *Theos*. The well-known Protestant missionary Gutzlaff, who died in 1851, expressed a belief that *Taoism* was all nonsense. In 1859 Dr. Edkins wrote a paper to show how modern *Taoist* mythology follows the Hindoo method, so far as the tiers of Heaven and the Trinity of persons is concerned. About this time Cardinal Wiseman, in his *Lectures on Revealed Religions*, made some allusion to Klaproth and the Trinity controversy. In 1868 Chalmers published the first English translation, largely independent—for he admits that he was insufficiently acquainted with French to translate Julien—but at the same time confessedly eked out by many references to Julien's work. He also finds ground for comparing the Chinese philosopher with Schelling. He does not translate the word *Tao*, but he expresses a belief that "the Word" is better than "Reason" or "the Way." Chalmers' work has naturally been of great assistance to other English-speaking missionaries who have tried their hand upon *Taoism*; but the book is both out of print and now slightly out of date: it needs, in any case, vigorous re-editing and annotating. In the same year Mr. Watters contributed to the missionary press in China a series of very thoughtful and valuable papers, perhaps unequalled so far as accurate inquiry into the life of Lao-tsz and the Chinese views of his doctrine are concerned. He considers that the Chinese have always failed to perceive one grand fact discerned by European critics, namely, that Lao-tsz refers everything to *Tao*, and thus in a way conceives the Unity of God. Watters, for want of a better term, translates *Tao* provisionally as "Nature," or "Great Creating Nature"; but at the same time he sees in it a similarity to Schellings' "Absolute," Spinoza's "Substance,"

Anaximander's τὸ ὄπειρον—Infinite, "Indefinite," or "Void." He discerns in Lao-tsz a genial spirit rather than a Jeremiah; one who appeals rather to the heart than to the mind; a Hebraistic rather than a Hellenistic temperament; speaking from a poet's rather than a scientist's point of view; a man who hates violence and ostentation. At the same time he points out that the reasoning is purely speculative and *a priori*; there is no history and no marshalling of facts; little or nothing is said of courage, truth, or honesty; and the principle of *laissez-faire*, or non-interference, seems to have been carried to excess. Though in one chapter Lao-tsz seems to speak of an after-life, Watters sees no suggestion of immortality, and draws a clear distinction between primitive *Taoism*, the extravagant fancies of Chwang-tsz, and the perversions of modern impostors. The dominant note of pure *Taoism* is the gradual descent of man from primitive perfection to virtue (knowledge of good and evil); whence backsliding, mankind invented unnecessary distinctions, such as humanity, equity, *pietas*, integrity (all of which connote the opposite qualities); and thence a tendency to craft, cunning, and insincerity. Hence Lao-tsz's censure of Confucius, the "propriety" of the latter really signifying or connoting a falling away from the infant-like purity which was bound up with genuine *Tao*. Watters adduces Hegel's *Sein und Nichts ist dasselbe*, Victor Cousin's "God made all things out of Self," and the Pythagorean doctrine of "All return to earth" as parallels of what we find in the *Tao-têh King*. Watters also alludes to the views expressed by Ritter, Victor Cousin, and Archdeacon Hardwicke, none of whom distinguished between the old and the corrupted doctrine. In 1869 Edkins contributed a paper calling attention to the fact that the Japanese *shin-to* religion (the Chinese words *shên-tao*, or "divine way") bears a strong resemblance to the *Tao* doctrine of Han times (B.C. 153). In 1871 Watters contributed three further learned papers upon the innumerable borrowed and derivative meanings of *Tao*, showing that the old Chinese expression Lao-tsz's SHUH, or "craft," might, like the word *Tao*, be taken in the sense of "method," or "way of thinking or doing."

In the year 1870 appeared two German translations of the *Tao-têh King*, by Plänckner and von Strauss respectively, the former as fantastical a paraphrase as the latter is a painstaking

and thoughtful study based strictly upon grammatical and philological considerations. Plänckner leaves *Tao* untranslated in his text, but uses the term "Supreme Being" in the introduction and notes. Von Strauss also declines the responsibility of a translation, but from his general language shows that he has the God of Revelation in his mind. That year, Watters republished his excellent earlier papers in one volume. Von der Gabelentz expressed the opinion that von Strauss' work possesses very high merit, and that the author was the first one to identify his explanations with the spirit of Lao-tsz; but it is a question raised by others how far von Strauss' imaginative idea of the recluse corresponds with what we are told by the Chinese and by Lao-tsz's own text. In 1873 Chalmers wrote a very interesting article upon *Taoism*, which, though purely speculative, he considered much more religious in spirit than Confucianism; but he held at the same time that Lao-tsz's abstruse metaphysics were distinctly harmful, in that they led to paradox, sometimes suspiciously like hocus-pocus, and thus undermined the foundations of true religion. "Yet the philosopher possessed a deep intuitive and cultivated perception of the marvellous correspondence of things" in the universe. Chalmers (with other writers) calls attention to the wave of activity that was passing over the known world in Lao-tsz's time; the notions of transmigration then taking root in India and Greece, and the fact that the Chinese philosophy showed a distinct Brahminic flavour. He credits Lao-tsz with a "more than German faculty for metaphysical speculation" [would that German sentences were as laconic!]. At the same time he thinks that others had spoken many of Lao-tsz's thoughts long before Lao-tsz, and that, in fact, there is nothing very astounding in his thinking what all men fond of a quiet life are at all times apt to revolve in their minds. Nothing that Lao-tsz wrote about prolonging life went beyond a faith or belief in pure *Tao*. All thinking men of his time were affected by his train of thought, even Confucius; though Chalmers, contrary to what Watters thinks, is of opinion that Confucius [naturally, therefore, Mencius] did not borrow from Lao-tsz. Chwang-tsz and Lieh-tsz, whose works are "tolerably authentic," carried on Lao-tsz's work, but in a different spirit, showing a tendency, which was certainly not that of

Lao-tsz, to obliterate the distinctions between right and wrong. By degrees all that was distasteful to the Confucianists was relegated by them to the convenient sink of *Taoism*: then followed the adventurous elixir stage, the fairy-land "discoveries," the occult science, the competition with and imitation of Buddhism, the establishment of the "poppedom" in Kiang Si, and the *fatras* of nonsense so painfully manifest in our own day. Buddhism found an easy entrance into China, owing to the failure of both Confucianism and *Taoism* to satisfy men's religious instincts. Thus Chalmers.¹

In 1874 a Protestant missionary, Rev. F. Galpin, discovered that the notion of Satan was "shadowed in the books of *Taoism*." The same year another Protestant missionary, the well-known author, Dr. John Ross, made the more mundane discovery that genuine *Taoist* recluses, of the old-fashioned type, were still to be found in the unfrequented haunts about the Chino-Corean frontier. In 1879 an American missionary, Rev. Virgil Hart, visited the sixty-first "pope" at his magnificent palace in the mountains of Kiang Si; and in the following year I myself had the pleasure of interviewing the same individual when he was "on tour" at Canton: he is not taken seriously by the Government, nor by private persons of importance, at least outside his own country estate.

Dr. Legge contributed an essay on *Taoism* to the *Brit. Quarterly Review* of 1883, and this appearance of the redoubtable old warrior on the field of battle was the signal for a general furbishing up of offensive and defensive weapons, for a grand *Taoist* war. In 1884 appeared Balfour's translation of the *Tao-têh King*; but as he chose to follow the lead of a comparatively modern Chinese commentator (eighth century, the third *Taoist* patriarch, "reputed one of the immortals," according to Wylie, "worshipped by the fraternity of barbers," according to Mayers), he is rather out of the running, so far as the question of pure ancient *Taoism* is involved: he adopts "Nature" as a fitting translation of *Tao*, and perhaps gives us a glimmering of new light here and there. Monsignor de Harlez, of Brussels, published a pamphlet on *Taoism* in 1885, with special reference to Balfour's translation, which he seems to have found very useful; but at the same time he resolved,

¹ Dr. J. J. M. De Groot takes the same lines in *Religion of the Chinese* (1910).

as a test, to put the works of his predecessors through a general crucible, with the final results soon to be mentioned. In his writings upon Chinese religious subjects, Mgr. de Harlez seems to owe much to the late Père Hoang,¹ of Nanking, who, in 1879, published in Chinese a very remarkable work on Comparative Religions (*Tsih-shwoh-ts'üan-chên*); but he does not appear, at least in the view of Père Havret, S. J., to have acknowledged his indebtedness to Père Hoang, whose book I have before me at this moment. The latter gives a capital running sketch of *Taoism* at the beginning, with its corruptions, dynasty by dynasty, up to our day, and clearly distinguishes between the true *Taoism* of the Chou dynasty (say 1100–200 B.C.); the *Taoism* as already distorted during the Ts'in and Han dynasties, owing to the evil example set by Chwang-tsz and Lieh-tsz; and the nonsensical superstition of modern times, in which there is scarcely any real *Taoism* left at all. I take this opportunity of expressing regret that the numerous and most valuable historical, religious, and commercial works of Père Hoang, who unfortunately could only write fluently in Latin and Chinese, are not more accessible. He was certainly one of the profoundest Chinese scholars of his day. Balfour's translation brought forth a suggestion from Edkins, to the effect that the *Taoist* trinity might owe its origin to the Babylonian Anna, Hea, Moulge (or Hinna, Nouah, Bel, if we distinguish between Accadian and Chaldean times): Cyrus conquered Babylon in 538, and died in Bactria in 529 B.C. Gaubil says there were Jews in China during the Fighting States Period, and Babylonian chronology might have been introduced into China during the third century B.C. Thus Edkins. The following year an anonymous author signing himself Lan-p'ao-tsz ("Blue-gown") pleaded for the rights of *logos*, and proceeded to explain how the word Jehovah in some mysterious way represented the Hebrew past, present, and future tenses. He was followed by a second anonymous correspondent, Rho (presumably Catholic), who, whilst exposing Blue-gown's fallacies, showed that there was no present tense in Hebrew. Meanwhile in the same journal Giles reviewed the work of Balfour, which he found faithful to the Chinese commentator followed, however untrue to fact. He called attention to the circumstance that

¹ Died Oct. 1909: see *Times* Obituary of Dec. 28, 1909.



P. Pierre Hoang 19 Mars 1905.

REV. PETER HOANG (WITH SIGNATURE), AFFILIATED TO THE
JESUITS. DIED 1909.

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certain quotations of Lieh-tsz found in the *Tao-têh King* were ascribed to the Yellow Emperor, and expressed the opinion that that work was not the work of Lao-tsz at all, but that it was notwithstanding one of the inspired works of the world, and had "not yet been done into English." Giles here repeats the error of ascribing the name *Tao-têh King* to the Sung dynasty (tenth century).

In 1886 Giles again came forward, this time with "grave charges" against Dr. Legge, and very strong language about Chalmers, Balfour, and many other workers in the *Taoist* field. He arraigned the *Tao-têh King* as an impudent forgery, made up of patchwork from Lieh-tsz, Chwang-tsz, Han-fei-tsz, Hwai-nan-tsz, etc., many centuries after Lao-tsz's time. Giles certainly succeeded in translating many detached sentences more intelligibly than his predecessors had done; but he seems to pronounce, without evidence, as "genuine sayings" those parts which are comprehensible to him, and, equally without evidence, as "gibberish" those phrases which neither he nor any one else can easily understand. He is not very judicious in his array of historic evidence, nor very judicial in his pronouncements upon it, not to speak of tactless personalities quite irrelevant to the issue. Chalmers and Edkins were not slow to accept Giles' challenge. The former, a profound and (as Europeans go) safe student of positive Chinese facts, easily demolished Giles' historical position; and the latter was also able to adduce independent historical evidence, partly new, partly supporting that of Chalmers. Giles' view is, in short, immature and untenable. Chalmers showed, "silently" yet respectfully, but plainly, that he was by no means enamoured of the Jehovah theory. In a separate paper Edkins hastened to accommodate himself to Chalmers' manifest scepticism about the Jehovah hypothesis, which he asserted was "not necessary" to explain Lao-tsz's "trinity of co-ordinate qualities, or trinity of cosmogonical evolution" (*i-hi-wei*): at the same time Lao-tsz must not be credited with having evolved these ideas himself: most likely they came from the West. Repeating his Babylonian theories (Anna, Hea, Moulge), Edkins suggests (forgetting that Yün Nan had not been discovered by either India or China) that they came indirectly from India, *viâ* Yün Nan. At the same time he says that Lieh-tsz, the

first of Lao-tsz's disciples to write a book, which is still extant, was a "sort of Persian magician." Later on in the same year he showed how, on the arrival of Buddhism in China, the *Taoists* set to work to imitate its organization. An article from the pen of Mr. H. J. Allen the same year, suggests that the *Tao-têh King* may very well have been a Buddhist work written in the second century B.C. At the same time, having the other eye on Zoroastrianism, he points out that *Zarat* and *ushtra* exactly translate the Chinese words *Lao-kiin*, or "Old Prince"; but, again, that Mayers said *Taoism* was derived from the speculations of Hindoo thought. He added, what is very true, that the earliest form of Chinese religion was worship of Heaven, Earth, Ancestors, and Spirits, "apparently connected with the religions of the Parsees, Hindoos," etc. Edkins followed early in 1887 with an essay on the Yellow Emperor's place in *Taoism*. He cites a work on medicine and natural science, admitted by Wylie to date from several centuries B.C., and giving the views of that remote monarch, who "was constantly present to the minds of all the early *Taoists* except Lao-tsz." Edkins finds certain extracts showing that even then "the earth was known to be a ball suspended in space," and that we naturally look to Chaldea, in consequence, as the foreign source of the ideas in the Yellow Emperor's book. The tendency of thought in the Fighting States Period was to consider the Yellow Emperor the first teacher of *Taoism*: Han-fei-tsz (died 233 B.C.) makes him quite a god, whilst the writings of Lieh-tsz and Chwang-tsz show that the *Taoist* doctrine was lavishly ascribed to Hwang Ti (the Yellow Emperor). At the same time, "we must connect with it foreign influence, Hindoo and Babylonian." Passages from the Yellow Emperor's book already allude to the means of attaining longevity, and he, Edkins, thinks one of the gods in the modern *Taoist* trinity may be the "incarnation" of Lao-tsz. Early in 1887 Mr. D. H. Porter, a missionary in Shan Tung, the ancient stronghold of *Taoism*, wrote to explain how the secret society sects in that province were allied to modern *Taoism*; and, in this connection, in view of the subsequent "Boxer" rebellion, with its claims to immortality, invulnerability, and so on, Mr. Porter's observations are decidedly to the point. In 1888 Dr. Legge, who seems to have at once set to work, on the news

of Giles' attack, more closely to study Han-fei-tsz and Hwai-nan-tsz for himself, published a dignified and exhaustive reply. The veteran sinologue was evidently hurt more at the manner than at the strength of the unexpected "charges," and, taking Giles sentence by sentence, proceeded to demolish him methodically. He says, in reference to one chapter in the *Tao-têh King* particularly obnoxious to Giles: "Instead of 'flooring' by this chapter the genuineness of the *Tao-têh King*, Mr. Giles has only succeeded in 'flooring' himself." And again: "I have rebutted every attempt of Mr. Giles to prove that the 'Book of Lao-tsz' is an unworthy forgery"; and, finally, with reference to Giles' theory of patchwork: "if a sufficiently exact study were made of all the works still remaining to us of a date as early as our first century, all but a fraction of the *Tao-têh King* might be brought together." But Giles was obdurate and unrepentant, and lost no time in saying so: "I reiterate my opinion that Sz-ma Ts'ien never saw the *Tao-têh King*." He denies that he ever said his excerpts were not genuine Lao-tsz: "I said they were not culled from the pages of the *Tao-têh King*," as to which he gives the supposed opinion of "native scholars, who one and all regard it as a spurious production of the Han . . . to fill the gaps in antiquity" caused by the "First Emperor's" destructive acts. Giles then follows up the assault by going into a side question: "Dr. Legge has once played us false. He professed to have found a key to the much-vexed *Yih-King* [*Book of Changes*], and contributed to the Sacred Books of the East a volume which is a by-word of reproach to a great scholar, and an object of derision to the world at large." All this is *un peu trop fort*; but we adopt the Taoist principle of "requiting evil with Grace," and therefore, ignoring the aggressiveness of Giles' language, we are disposed to join in the general judgment that Dr. Legge was rather too sanguine in believing he could extract plain sense out of the *Book of Changes*; also that his attempts to clear up the mysteries of Taoism have not been nearly so successful as his splendid work upon the more intelligible classics. Giles has recently repeated his "heresies" in certain lectures at New York (1902).

Mr. T. W. Kingsmill, the chartered "iconoclast of sinology," now came forward with the crushing assertion that "there is

absolutely no historical evidence of the existence of such an individual as Lao-tsz," who was "only an emanation from the brain of Chwang-tsz, or some other moralist of his day"; not to speak of the "quotation from the pretended work of Lieh-tsz, itself a forgery." Mr. Kingsmill considers the Book of Lao-tsz "one of the few remains existing of primitive Buddhism . . . in direct imitation of the Indian style." A few pages farther on in the same volume, Edkins reverts to the subject of modern *Taoist* gods, the three pure ones, and "Persian importations." De Harlez and Legge both published their translations of the *Tao-têh King* in 1891, the latter taking cognizance of two Chinese commentators not hitherto carefully examined, and also giving his views upon the parallel passages in Chwang-tsz and Hwai-nan-tsz. Legge still prefers to leave the word *Tao* untranslated; but whilst inclining towards "way" and "road," he somewhat inconsistently adds: "I am compelled to accept the existence of God as the ultimate fact." At about the same time, Mr. W. P. Mears published a very learned treatise upon *Taoism*, as developed by Chwang-tsz: he compares and contrasts it with Confucius and Plato. His theory is that, whilst with Lao-tsz, Ethics took the first place, based on Dogma; with Chwang-tsz, an elaborate philosophy replaced Dogma, and Ethics took a secondary place. Confucius, full of rules, built up the *Tao* of men into a Temple of Humanity, self being supreme, and each man working outwards from self. Lao-tsz, destitute of rules, taught the *Tao* of Heaven, each man being of infinite importance, and working upwards to it. Lao-tsz would have men cease from efforts towards morality, resting in that perfect peace which no organic changes can take away, and subject to *Tao* above. Confucius subjected men to ancestors, elders, and neighbours. Plato subjected men inexorably to the State. *Taoism* differs from Platonism in being of a dual nature. Chwang-tsz endeavoured to revive it on a firm philosophical basis in order to counteract alike the Epicureanism of Lieh-tsz and the Stoicism of Confucius: his clue, therefore, affords a coherent explanation throughout. Whilst Herbert Spencer found an insuperable difficulty in the "Unknowable," Lao-tsz and Chwang-tsz decline to accept so "impotent a conclusion," and insist on the duty of knowing all we can know, and then

following it up till we can know more. Mr. Mears defines *Taoism* as a "Self Existence *plus* Personal Attributes," outside the influence of Space, Time, and Motion; but lacking the "Objective Personality" which is the basis of Judaism and Christianity.

In 1893 a Japanese named Konishi applied himself to contest the position taken by the late Russian professor, Vassilieff, to the effect that *Taoism* probably belonged to the second century B.C., and in any case could not be older than the Confucianism to which it was opposed. Konishi, however, considers the *Tao-têh King* to be a mere random collection of Lao-tsz's aphorisms made for a special purpose; but he holds that in the system itself, taken as a whole, there is not a single thought inconsistent with the theory of *Tao*. Professor Chavannes, of Paris, in the introduction to his great work on Sz-ma Ts'ien's history, the first part of which was published in 1895, gives an admirable *résumé* of the *Taoist* religion, of its strong points as set forth by Sz-ma T'an himself, of its comparison with Confucianism and the other competing philosophies, and of Sz-ma Ts'ien's good faith and consummate prudence in his selection of evidence: that author (he adds) does not discuss the works he used in compiling his great history: but, so far from not having read Lao-tsz, he, in Chavannes' opinion, had probably read Chwang-tsz too: it is always possible to say what good works he read, because he quotes from them; but when he omits to quote a work at all, the assumption is that he had weighed it in the balance and found it wanting. On the whole, Chavannes is the most sensible critical writer on the subject. In 1898 a Swatow missionary, named McLagan, published a very thoughtful series of papers on *Taoism*. He thinks that Giles has not proved his position, but that no conclusive case for the existence of an explicit *Taoism* previous to the time of Lao-tsz can be made out from the *Tao-têh King*, and that Lao-tsz's system leaves no room for any idea of God beyond *Tao*. Mr. Kingsmill's criticism of McLagan's excellent, if second-hand, work as a "mere *réchauffé* of Julien and Legge" is scarcely fair: he takes the opportunity of reasserting his opinion that the whole *Tao-têh King* is a "paltry juggle," based on Hindoo importations, and that a better knowledge of Hindoo literature is

desirable for Lao-tsz's translators. In the same year, Dr. Paul Carus, of Chicago, published his translation of and notes upon the *Tao-téh King*, with a good index, hoping thereby to make it generally accessible both in letter and in spirit: his opinion that Lao-tsz was "one of the greatest men that ever trod the earth" smacks slightly of Barnum; moreover, Lao-tsz never attempted to personify *Tao*, and Carus' persistent obtrusion of his personal ideas upon the subject of God are held by missionary critics to be out of place and irrelevant.

During the year 1899 Mr. Spurgeon-Medhurst, a missionary enjoying, like Mr. Porter, the advantage of labouring in that stronghold of *Taoism*, Shan Tung, published a very competent critical *résumé* of all that had hitherto been done to elucidate *Taoism*, which he defines as the "search of a blind soul for God": he truly points out that the Chinese themselves do not dispute the authenticity of the *Tao-téh King*, a whimsical fancy confined to Giles and Kingmill, equally rash speculators. He objects to Carus' word "reason," on the ground that Lao-tsz's never absent thought was that *Tao* transcended the power of reason: the "eternal principle of right" is nearer the mark, for "the highest form of religion is always unspoken." In 1902 Pastor Kranz gave to the world some posthumous notes left by Dr. Faber, who had already, in 1885, expressed the opinion that "there is little room left for doubts regarding the authenticity of our (*Tao-téh King*) canon." Faber contrasts and compares *Taoism* with Confucianism, having had specially under his eye Dvorák's first volume on the Chinese religions; he also introduces, as he is specially competent to do, some important historical considerations as to the innovations introduced by the Chou dynasty, which, nearly a thousand years before the revolutionary burning of the books in 213 B.C., had introduced into China the novelties of feudalism, seraglios, ancestral worship, conventional marriage rules, official ceremonial, etc., and had developed *Taoism*. Faber's account of native ancient *Taoist* literature is the best extant.

Last, but not least, comes Professor Rudolf Dvorák's admirable *Lao-tsi und seine Lehre*, being the second volume of *Chinas Religionen*. It does not wield the already at its best rather cumbersome German language with even average grace, which fact, with such a subject as *Taoism*, is a heavy handicap

upon persons only blessed with appreciation of the more clarified tongues. He reviews in a summary way all that has been done by the more prominent of the foreign writers above mentioned; discusses the Chinese authors, compares and contrasts *Taoism* with Confucianism, and comes to the sensible conclusion that there is no more apparent reason why Lao-tsz should have borrowed from Pythagoras or Babylonia than that Babylonia and Pythagoras should have borrowed from Lao-tsz. He does not exaggerate the importance of the "greatest man on earth's" thoughts, which are precisely those likely to occur to all thinking men living a tedious life in a fairly advanced stage of civilization. Professor Dvorák introduces quite new considerations in the shape of Chinese pictographs or character-forms, which appear totally inconsequent to the subject. In the first place, when Lao-tsz lived and wrote, the Chinese characters were, even in principle, radically different from what they are now, and it was not until 220 B.C. that the revolutionary "First Emperor" first tried to unify the competing forms used by the different feudal states. In the second place, since that time the Chinese script has been reformed, pruned, and recast in various ways, in such wise that the fact of the word "wonderful," for instance, being written with the signs "woman" and "few," can, under no circumstances, be taken to throw light upon philosophical *Taoist* nomenclature. Lao-tsz, of course, used the written words every one else used for other purposes, and invented none. Thirdly, just as the cuneiform syllables of Babylonia gradually developed from hieroglyphs into mere phonetics, and the demotic Egyptian was a contracted modification of the hieroglyphic, so Chinese characters have passed through phase after phase until they have come now-a-days to have purely conventional meanings. The characters of to-day are not those used by Lao-tsz. Notwithstanding this tilting at wind-mills, Dvorák's work may be recommended as the "supreme effort" of *Taoist* exegesis. For those who cannot read German (or, still better, Chinese) it will be ample to study Faber, Watters, Chavannes, and Chalmers for the historical part; Watters, Chavannes, Spurgeon-Medhurst, and McLagan for the argumentative portion: even if they be not always original, they at least gather up all that there really is to say.

It will suggest itself to impartial minds that with all our science, our logic, and our experience, we Westerners have not been able, after the lapse of 2500 years, to improve much upon the old Chinese philosopher. The Germans, especially, have acquired repute as profound "thinkers"; yet the modern representative embodiment of Teutonic thought has not been able, in spite of Kant, Schelling, and Hegel, to evolve for us anything more intelligible than an endless chain of "revelation," culminating with a final "manifestation" in the shape of his grandfather, the sturdy old soldier, King William of Prussia. Lord Kelvin can only make a guess at "Creative Power" and "Vital Force," which Sir Oliver Lodge rejects, because (like Lao-tsz) he "cannot define" them. Professor Ray Lankester hints that both of these giants of science are in need of brain repair. Yet Sir Oliver plumps for "Telepathy," and tells us "a time will come." All this is a humiliating lesson to the narrow pride of man, and a proof of his incapacity to get beyond his own narrow interests, or to solve the mystery of life by his own foolish efforts. In the case of Lao-tsz, the Chinese, in all good faith, give us the best they know of his life, his book, and his thoughts: his book exists still, and if the thoughts occasionally exceed his capacity to express them, he himself confesses and bewails the fact. But we Westerners know better than that; even on the same evidence; which, in any case, we can only spell out imperfectly. Lao-tsz never existed at all, or, if he did, he never wrote his alleged book. He was a creature of other impostors' imagination, and both his and their works are impudent frauds. If there is any sense, however, in what they wrote, be it fraudulent or otherwise, they themselves are not to be credited with it. Not at all. Babylonia, Greece, Persia, India, or other places in the "West" claim credit for such portions as are intelligible. Meanwhile,¹ whilst we lament Lao-tsz's incapacity to conceive the true key to peace and good-will, our philosophers, backed up by our armies, lay violent hands on such parts of China as it is possible for us to reach in safety; and by financial traps and juggles, which are as inscrutable to the Chinese mind as the "Absolute" or the "Void," we drain the unhappy country of its best resources. The most "orthodox" form of our

¹ Written in 1903.

wisdom chivies 5000 defenceless traders into a river, there to drown. The most "catholic" form drives out from home the identical teachers who are considered so indispensable for China's welfare. The final effort of "revelation" takes forcible possession of the precise region where *Taoism* and Confucianism had their birth. This may be progress and civilization; but I suspect, if old Lao-tsz could but visit the modern West, we should be rather ashamed to show him our gin-palaces, our Finns, our Jews, our trusts, our strikes, our Christian scientists, our suffragettes, and a list of our "ruler-sages" assassinated within the past generation by discontented populations.

After the list of writers on *Taoism* which follows this, is submitted a full translation of Lao-tsz's whole book of 5000 words, without a single remark or note. Let the world judge for itself.

<i>Approximate date.</i>	<i>Author.</i>	<i>Nature of Work.</i>	<i>Where found.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
1788	Anonymous Catholic Missionary.	Memoir on <i>Taoism</i> .	Library of the Royal Society.	Possibly by Fouquet, ex-Jesuit, afterwards friend of Voltaire.
1820	Ahel Rémusat.	Memoir and part translation.	Académie, 1824; and <i>Mélanges Asiatiques</i> .	Considers Lao-tsz a true philosopher, intelligent moralist, and fine metaphysician.
—	Klaproth.	Memoir.		
1831	G. Pauthier.	Study on Lao-tsz and <i>Taoism</i> , followed by translation.	Commission des Impressions Gratuites. Paris, 1838.	Dvorák says only the first part of his 1834 manuscript was published.
1841	Stanislas Julien.	Translation, with text and commentary.	Published volume. Paris.	Condemned by Pauthier, Rosny, and Giles, according to Dvorák.
1834-8	G. Pauthier.	See above.	See above.	See under 1831.
1859	Rev. J. Edkins, D.D.	Paper read and printed.	N. China Branch, R. As. Soc. Journ., vol. iii., Dec. 1859.	Read May 17, 1859, being a sketch of <i>Taoist</i> mythology in its modern form.
1868	Rev. J. Chalmers.	Translation and short introduction.	Out of print.	An attempt to render the "Old Philosopher's" speculations into readable English.
1868	T. Watters (Consul).	Series of articles (republished 1870 in London).	Chinese Recorder, June 1868—Feb. 1869.	These are almost ignored by Dvorák, but they are worth more than the rest combined.
1869	J. Edkins.	An article.	Chinese Recorder, vol. iii., July 1869.	<i>Taoism</i> in Japan.
1871	T. Watters.	Three articles.	Chinese Recorder, vol. iv., June—Sept. 1871.	Thoroughly threshing out all possible meanings of the word <i>Tao</i> .
1870	R. von Plänckner.	Translation, introduction, and commentary.	Published volume. Leipzig.	Dvorák calls him an ardent admirer of Lao-tsz, but too lost in modern abstractions.
1870	V. von Strauss.	Translation.		Dvorák is doubtful whether von Gabelentz's commendation is fully deserved. Rather too original.
1873	J. Chalmers.	An article.	China Review, vol. i., Jan.—Feb. 1873.	A very out-spoken, common-sense statement of the chief points of interest.

Approximate date.	Author.	Nature of Work.	Where found.	Remarks.
1874	Rev. F. Galpin.	An article.	Chinese Recorder, vol. v., Jan.—Feb. 1874.	Notes concerning the Chinese belief in evil spirits.
1874	Rev. J. Ross.	An article.	Chinese Recorder, vol. v., Nov.—Dec. 1874.	Visit to the Korean Gate.
1879	Rev. V. Hart.	An article.	Chinese Recorder, vol. x., Dec. 1879.	Visit to the Taoist "pope." Notes on the <i>Book of Changes</i> as affecting Taoism.
1883	Dr. Legge.	Essay on Taoism.	British Quarterly Review, July 1883.	Dr. Legge does not think Plinckner's knowledge of Chinese adequate.
1884	F. J. Balfour (Shanghai Editor).	Translation.	Published volume. Shanghai.	Legge and Giles agree for once in condemning the use of a modern Chinese commentator.
1884	H. A. Giles (Consul).	Review.	Chinese Recorder, vol. xv., July—August 1884.	Review of Balfour, and expression of opinion that Lao-tsz never wrote "his" book.
1884	J. Eekins.	An article.	Chinese Recorder, vol. xv., Sept.—Oct. 1884.	Israelitish and Babylonian influence over Taoism.
1885	Mgr. de Harlez.	Translation and commentary.	Annales du Musée Guimet, Paris, 1891.	Takes cognizance also of the writings of many ancient Taoist authors.
1885	Dr. E. Faber.	An article.	China Review, vol. xiii., pp. 231-247.	A very able view of the liberalism and "opposition" quality of Taoism.
1885	Lan-p'ao-tsz.	An article.	Chinese Recorder, vol. xvi., Sept. 1885.	The questions of <i>Legge</i> and <i>Jehovah</i> .
1885	Rho.	A reply.	Chinese Recorder, vol. xvi., Oct. 1885.	Showing the fallacy of the preceding.
1886	H. A. Giles.	An article.	China Review, vol. xiv., pp. 231-280.	Re-translating a number of Lao-tsz's sayings, and attacking all previous writers.
1886	J. Chalmers.	A reply.	China Review, vol. xiv., pp. 323-330.	Showing the untenability of Giles' position on historical grounds.

Approximate date.	Author.	Nature of Work.	Where found.	Remarks.
1886	J. Edkins.	A reply.	China Review, vol. xiv., pp. 330-333.	Further evidence of the untenability of Giles' position.
1886	J. Edkins.	An article.	Chinese Recorder, vol. xvii., August 1886.	Jehovah and the Babylonian trinity as related to Taoism.
1886	J. Edkins.	An article.	Chinese Recorder, vol. xvii., Nov. 1886.	Imitation of Buddhist working by Taoists.
1886	H. J. Allen (Consul).	An article.	China Review, vol. xv., Sept.—Oct. 1886.	Account of early Chinese religion, and the origin of Taoism.
1887	J. Edkins.	An article.	China Review, vol. xv., Jan.—Feb. 1887.	An account of Taoism anterior to Lao-tsz.
1887	Rev. D. H. Porter.	An article.	Chinese Recorder, vol. xvii., Jan. 1887.	Secret Societies of Shan Tung and their relation to Taoism.
1888	Dr. Legge.	An article.	China Review, vol. xvi., Jan.—Feb. 1888.	Categorical reply showing untenability of Giles' position on general grounds.
1888	H. A. Giles.	A reply.	China Review, vol. xvi., Jan.—Feb. 1888.	Re-affirming original position, and opening out fresh attacks upon Legge's standpoint.
1891	Mgr. de Harlez.	A translation.	Paris, 1891.	See remarks under 1885.
1891	Dr. Legge.	Translation of Lao-tsz and Chwang-tsz.	Sacred Books of the East, vols. xxxix. and xl.	Cites parallel portions from other Taoist writers, and considers the views of four Chinese commentators.
1891	W. P. Mears, M.A.	An article.	China Review, vol. xix., No. 4.	A very thoughtful comparison of Plato with Lao-tsz and Chwang-tsz.
1893	Konishi.	Russian translation.	Commission of Philos. and Psych. Questions, 1893.	Referring to Professor Vassilieff's <i>Religions of the East</i> , published in 1873.
1895	Chavannes.	Comparison of schools of thought, 500-200 B.C.	Mémoires Historiques, vol. i., Paris, 1895.	Professor Chavannes' masterly introduction to his great translation gives all that outsiders really need to know on the subject.

Approximate date.	Author.	Nature of Work.	Where found.	Remarks.
1897	Major Alexander.	An article (posthumous).	As. Quart. Review, Oct. 1897.	Review of authorities on Taoism. "First Cause," and "God."
1898	McLagan.	Series of articles.	China Review, vol. xxiii, Nos. 1-5.	A very excellent second-hand study, but none the less worth reading. <i>Index-Vocabulary</i> , vol. xxiv.
1898	T. W. Kingsmill.	An article.	China Review, vol. xxiii, No. 5.	Upbraids McLagan for ignoring the labours of Giles (McLagan's reply appended).
1898	Dr. Paul Carus.	Article, followed by translation.	Monitor, July 1897; Chicago, 1898.	Compares Taoism with other religions and Tao with other words.
1899	Rev. C. Sp.-Medhurst.	An article.	Chinese Recorder, vol. xxx., Nov. 1899.	Review of what other Western writers, including Hardwicke and Alexander, have said.
1899	T. W. Kingsmill.	Two articles.	China Review, vol. xxiv, pp. 147-155, 185-199.	Lao-tsz never existed; Lieh-tsz a forgery; Chwang-tsz an inventor—Indian origin.
1899	J. Edkins.	An article.	China Review, vol. xxiv, p. 199.	Titles of Taoist gods and Persian importations.
1900	E. von Zach.	Two translations.	China Review, vol. xxv, pp. 157-162, 228-234.	Manchu translation of <i>Tao-t'eh King</i> done into Roman character.
1902	Dr. E. Faber (per Kranz).	Posthumous notes.	Chinese Recorder, vol. xxxiii, June 1902.	Faber had already given his opinion on Taoism and the proper way to study it in vol. xiii. of the <i>China Review</i> , pp. 231-247.
1903	Dr. R. Dvorák.	Book of 216 pages.	Chinas Religionen, No. 2, Münster, 1903.	This is the calmest and most unbiassed review of all that has been done in Taoism. The author also gives his views.

CHAPTER III

THE TAO-TÊH KING, OR "PROVIDENTIAL GRACE" CLASSIC¹

First Division

THE literary combination *tao-têh* (*iter-virtus*) occurs centuries before Lao-tsz was born. I have, with the aid of the splendid eighteenth-century concordances of this dynasty, hunted up every one of the five thousand words, or combinations of words, occurring in the Taoist classic, and I find that practically every single thought in it has been foreshadowed (usually word for word) either in the *Book of History*, *Book of Rites*, *Record of Rites*, *Book of Changes*, *Book of Odes*, or in other very ancient work. A few expressions seem, it is true, to show that Lao-tsz, who was a senior contemporary of Confucius, drew some ideas from much more modern sources than those enu-

¹ Just as (1903) I had finished my laborious task, which includes a special checking and comparative scrutiny of each of the 5000 words, and a collection of considerably over 1000 Chinese citations, I received from the *Dublin Review* office a curious little work of which I am glad to speak very highly. This is the *Light of China*, by Dr. I. W. Heysinger (Philadelphia), being a poetical version of the whole Taoist canon. Though as a mere specimen of the "divine muse," it is not likely to set the Thames furiously on fire, yet as a careful translation, accommodated to suitable rhyme, it presents a somewhat dry subject in an unexpectedly relishing and agreeable form, very suited to the highly idealized style of the original. Though Dr. Heysinger informs us that he has utilized several Chinese dictionaries in order to clarify his ideas, we take leave to doubt that he is really a qualified member of that pugnacious body usually dubbed "sinological." No one with any real experience of Chinese poetry or Chinese character-forms could imagine for a moment that Lao-tsz intended to give a general poetical ring to his sayings, however transcendental they may otherwise be; nor is it possible to attach any serious significance to the "radicals" which go to form Chinese character-words: long before Lao-tsz's time, men chose their ready-made words just as they do now. I take it that Dr. Heysinger has carefully compared the various French, English, and German translations of the canon, and has also accepted some of the "radical" and "poetical" fancies of Dr. Dvorák, then proceeding to turn out an "average" translation of his own in rhythmical form. The Analytical Index and Vocabulary are of no great value, but the translation itself is excellent as a whole, and does the author's judgment much credit.

merated, and sources equally available to Confucius. It will be remembered that Confucius deliberately pruned and re-edited the greater part of the oldest classical literature (which has, thus modified, come down to us) with the object of expunging matter inconsonant with his uncompromisingly imperial and conservative principles. Hence, if Lao-tsz uses a few expressions not found in the ancient classics, it is fair to assume that he used the still unmutilated books. Even in our own times, the Manchu dynasty's Concordances seem to omit references to any of Lao-tsz's doctrines which make for Radicalism against Imperialism. It is plain to us all, from a simple perusal of Lao-tsz's own work, that he was a "Radical"; and thus plain, also, how it came to pass that, despite the favour shown to Taoism by a few Emperors, in the long run Confucius "caught on" with successive dynasties better than the Chinese Carlyle. It was then the interest of Emperors, as it is now the interest of Czars, to keep the Lao-tsz style of wisdom to themselves, allowing the people to surcharge it with the mysticism and gross superstition which in China now bury it from sight; thus rendering it contemptible in its disguise to all but exceptionally deep thinkers and the credulous vulgar. In the same way, a Pobyedonóschtschoff is (1903) more cherished in Russian court circles than a Tolstoy, and the Czar goes on a pilgrimage to the newly discovered manifestation. Confucius said he would have liked to give up fifty years to the study of the *Book of Changes*. The *Book of Changes* is, indeed, rather a book of hints; and, of course, a speculative hint may, by the light of subsequent discovery, turn out as easily to be sublime science as to be silly twaddle. Hence Confucius' curiosity about the *Book of Changes*, and hence its charm over the speculative Chinese mind even to this day. Lao-tsz simply constructed, chiefly from the same unintelligible book of cosmical hints, a system of fairly intelligible, if obscure, philosophy phrased on then existing didactical literary models; and the numerous contemporaries and successors of his, working in the same field, all freely used the common and sanctioned abstract expressions then in vogue. During his life Lao-tsz, who held an important office at the King's (*i. e.* the later Emperor's) Court, both by reason of his central position and of his special abilities, naturally had the highest "Radical" repute among the thinking

men dotted about in the feudatory courts. To select from later writers on *Taoism* a few of these trite passages which all *Taoists* then used and still use, and thence argue that Lao-tsz's work is a mere patchwork of retrospective forgery, is not at all justified by the historical facts available to us. Authors, two thousand years ago, being human, were, in matters of publishers' "etiquette," probably like authors of to-day. In any case, nearly all Chinese literature antecedent to 213 B.C. had to pass the ordeal of the "destruction of the books" in that year; so that the Renaissance authors naturally stood a better chance of publicity than the writers of Lao-tsz's time. Moreover, if some of them failed to mention Lao-tsz at all, or even borrowed his thoughts, it was perhaps because both author and thoughts were common property all over "the world," as it was then known. For instance, Professor H. A. Giles, of Cambridge, who has pleaded hardest for the retrospective forgery view, never once, in his very excellent Chinese-English Dictionary, mentions Dr. S. W. Williams' Chinese-English Dictionary, nor even his bare name; yet Professor Giles, when asked to explain certain reproduced statements in his Dictionary, frankly told us later on in the *China Review* that he had extensively utilized Williams' labours throughout, and had often accepted him as an unquestioned authority when no other evidence was available. It would be very hard upon Williams, then, if future generations should condemn his earlier work as a forgery based on the later works of Giles, who simply reconstructed and enlarged it. Professor Giles is, of course, entitled to his opinion on *Taoism*, but it is always regrettable when, on insufficient evidence, a prominent man roundly declares for a downright "heresy"; if only because frail human nature is apt, in self-defence, to rake together and make selections from all available evidence merely in order to justify such heresy. And surely it is rank heresy to refuse all credit to one of the best-established and most tenacious things in Chinese literary history.

In the present translation I simply give what Lao-tsz appears to me to wish to say, so far as his comparatively untrained logical capacity had any "water-tight" ideas at all. In concrete suggestion he is distinctly ahead of the *Book of*

Changes; yet his powerful, laconic style still leaves far too much to our modern imaginations. Thus, in our own style, "stuff a cold and starve a fever" may be expressive; but, unfortunately, it may mean either of two contradictory things, *i. e.* that you *must* stuff a cold in order to starve a fever, or that if you try to stuff a cold you will *have* to starve a fever. So far am I from insisting that my translation is right, that I am ready incontinently to abandon each sentence on evidence brought forward that such translated sentence will not "hold water." I totally ignore all that both Chinese and foreigners have hitherto said as to Lao-tsz's meaning. My only "dossier" is the thousand or more of extracts I have culled, with the assistance of Concordances, from works chiefly anterior to Lao-tsz, to which I add for my own use useful extracts from Chinese poets (A.D. 300-900), showing how they subsequently used the words of Lao-tsz in constructing their ballads, panegyrics, condolences, or sonnets. Any one who wishes to know my authority for a specific "meaning" can have it; and if he can give me a better evidence than I possess, I shall be thankful. The whole translation was made at odd moments whilst travelling abroad without any books or references whatever, except the above-mentioned original extracts carried along with me.

I have, in every single case where the words *tao* and *têh* occur, translated them by "Providence" and "Grace." As Lao-tsz himself could not find words expressing full meanings to his satisfaction, I certainly think I have a right to choose my own; the more so in that my two words make the whole subject consistently intelligible, which no such words as "God," "The Way," etc., seem to do. The numerous reference numbers scattered over each chapter illustrate how other chapters repeat the same or similar ideas, and thus how "water" is held in throughout. The classic, in its usual form, consists of eighty-one chapters in two divisions, which may be arbitrarily defined as that on Providence and that on Grace respectively.

Division I.—PROVIDENCE.

1. The Providence which could be indicated by words would not be an all-embracing Providence, nor would any

name by which we could name it be an ever-applicable name (*cf.* 14, 21, 25, 32, 37).

“Non-existence” is a name for the beginning of heaven and earth. “Existence” is a name for the genetrix of the innumerable objects (*cf.* 4, 10, 25, 32, 37) of creation.

Hence, “absolute non-existence” suggests to us the miraculous working (*cf.* 27) of what in “absolute existence” has become the resulting essence (*cf.* 21).

These two emanate from the same, though their namings are dissimilar, and jointly they are termed “state of colourless dissolution” (*cf.* 10). Dissolution, again, within dissolution thus connects us with the various miraculous workings (*cf.* 6, 27).

2. All the world knows what “agreeable” means, and this necessarily connotes “disagreeable”; it knows in the same way what “good” is, which connotes “not good” (*cf.* 29, 36).

Hence, “existence” and “non-existence” (*cf.* 34) have a common birth; “difficult” and “easy” have a common creation; “long” and “short” have a common obviousness; “high” and “low” present a common contrast; “sound-waves” and “noise” have a common unison; “before” and “after” have a common sequence (*cf.* 10, 14).

Thus the highest form of man performs his functions without display of activity (*cf.* 37), and conveys his lessons without display of words (*cf.* 5).

The innumerable objects do similarly function, and this without fail (*cf.* 21, 34).

Birth without existence (*cf.* 10); doing, without showing self-consciousness; achieving results, without claiming them (*cf.* 9, 22).

And it is precisely that, no claim being made, the results do not vanish (*cf.* 10, 22, 33).

3. Do not show partiality for “high character,” and then you will make people refrain from competing for such distinction. Place no special value upon rare possessions, and thus you will remove folk’s temptation to robbery (*cf.* 12, 19). Do not let that which is covetable stand before the eye, and in this way the mind will not be disturbed.

Hence the administration of the highest form of man is directed to keeping the mind unpreoccupied, and to keeping the

belly full (*cf.* 35). He takes strength from the will, and adds strength to the bones, in this way causing the people to be always ignorant of what they thus never covet ; or, at any rate, causing those possessing this knowledge to shrink from any action upon it. By this policy of "not raising incidents" everything will conform to order (*cf.* 10, 15, 24, 29, 35).

4. Providence used with restraint need not exhibit its full force (*cf.* 9). It is profound ; and like, as it were, the ancestral progenitor of the innumerable objects (*cf.* 1). It checks undue impulse, solves entanglements, subdues undue brightness, and equalizes what is disagreeable. Balmy, as though preserving life (*cf.* 27). I do not know whose offspring it is, but indications suggest what is anterior to any monarchs (*cf.* 25).

5. Heaven and earth entertain no benevolence, making the innumerable objects serve their respective purposes, just as we utilize the straw hounds in exorcising at sacrifices. In the same way the highest form of man entertains no over-tender feeling, utilizing the people just as we use the same straw hounds.

We might say the space between heaven and earth will compare with a bellows ; being empty, and yet not curved, needing only movement to put forth its power. So it is that the more talk we employ (*cf.* 2) the sooner we reach our wits' ends (*cf.* 23) ; whence it is better to hold a medium course.

6. The spirit of the valley of space never dies (*cf.* 15), and this is what is called the progenetrix of neutral dissolution (*cf.* 1), and the connection of this dissolution progenetrix (*cf.* 25) may be termed the root of heaven and earth. It extends into eternity like a preserver of life (*cf.* 4), and is inexhaustible in its uses (*cf.* 35).

7. Heaven is enduring, and earth is lasting. The reason why heaven and earth are capable of this is that, not having created *themselves* from any thing, they are thus able to go on existing for ever. Thus it is that the highest form of man keeps his personality in the background, and yet it asserts itself (*cf.* 1, 22) ; treats his own existence from an objective point of view, and yet preserves that existence. It is not that he possesses no individuality, but it is in this way that he is capable of developing his individuality.

8. The highest beneficence resembles water, for water is

always ready to benefit the innumerable objects, yet never contests place with them (*cf.* 34). It is content with that low level which all men abhor, and in this respect bears some analogy to Providence, which always places itself to the best advantage, excogitates with the calmest depth, dispenses benefits with the maximum benevolence, speaks with the greatest truth, governs in the highest spirit of order, utilizes the best abilities, and moves on the most suitable occasions. In a word, making no self-assertive effort, it is never ill-advised (*cf.* 22).

9. It were better to drop a matter altogether than to push it to fullest extremes (*cf.* 4, 29). If a point be ground down too fine, it will not wear so long. If your treasures fill the whole house, you will not be able to look after them all. A man who is supercilious about his wealth and position breeds disaster for himself. To retire your personality after your objects are gained and your reputation made (*cf.* 2, 8)—such is the Providence of Heaven.

10. Carry along your soul with singleness of purpose (*cf.* 22, 35), and see if you can be constant. Concentrate your efforts upon gentleness, and see how far you can be like an infant (*cf.* 28). Take disinterested and dispassionate views of things (*cf.* 16), and see how far you can be without blemish. Love the people and order your state so far as possible without making work (*cf.* 3, 35). The process of evolution opens and closes, with a certain indispensable female element (*cf.* 1, 20, 28). The process of intelligence develops itself with a certain indispensable element of formal science (*cf.* 27, 36). There is birth and there is nurture (*cf.* 51, in Division II.). There may be birth without concrete existence, just as there may be action without assertion of it, and development without direction of it (*cf.* 34); and this is what we may style the colourless dissolution of Grace (*cf.* 1).

11. Just as thirty spokes united in one hub make up the serviceability of a wheel by reason of the hollow centre; or as manipulated clay turned into a vessel becomes serviceable as such by reason of the vacuum within; just as the spaces for windows and doors left in building a house contribute to the serviceability of a dwelling by reason of what is *not* there; so in the same way what concretely exists of our personalities is "value received," which may be further realized by reason of

any intangible uses to which we may spiritually put those persons.

12. The five primary colours are apt to find eyes blind to them ; the five musical notes are apt to find ears deaf to them ; the five flavours are apt each to be too sharp to the taste ; the violent exercise of the chase on horseback is apt to produce a corresponding craziness of mind. The possession of rare objects (*cf.* 3) is apt to be adversely obtained. Hence the highest form of man pays more attention to what is in him than to visible things, and ignores the latter for the sake of the former.

13. Be apprehensive alike of favour and disapproval (*cf.* 28). Regard great evils as though they affected your own person. What do I mean by "favour and disapproval" ? The one connotes the other, and you should accept favour with the apprehension that you may one time lose it. What do I mean by regarding "great evils as though they affected your own person" ? The reason why we experience great evils is because we have personality. Had we no persons, what evils could we experience ? Hence he who values the empire in his own person may be entrusted with the empire, and he who loves the empire in his own person may be charged with the empire (*cf.* 26).

14. What does not form an image to the eye (*cf.* 35) is characterized as [*i*, or] "unbroken planeness" ; what is imperceptible to the sense of hearing is characterized as [*hi*, or] "rarification" ; what is not tangible to the grasp is characterized as [*wei*, or] "abstractness" (*cf.* 36). As these three qualities¹ do not permit of further exploration, they may be lumped together as one whole, neither exceptionally brilliant above, nor exceptionally dull below. Ever continuous ! Unsusceptible of a name (*cf.* 1), it resolves itself once more into a nothingness or non-objectness (*cf.* 16) ; what may be called shape without form, or aspect without image ; what may be called "fleeting and illusory" (*cf.* 21). In advancing towards it we distinguish no head ; in following after it, we distinguish no rear (*cf.* 2) ; thus do we hold on to the ancient Providence, by way of controlling modern actuality : thus can we know the

¹ This *I-hi-wei* is the "Jehovah" spectre conjured up in the imaginations of Rémusat and others.

ancient beginnings, or what may be called the phases of Providence.

15. Those who filled offices (*cf.* 28) most creditably in ancient times possessed an inspired understanding of the [*wei*, or] abstract and the inscrutable, so profound as to be unknowable. And precisely because it was unknowable were they fain to make all possible allowances. They used the prudence of a man crossing rivers during winter, the caution of one dreading to give offence to his neighbours. They were deferential, as though dealing with unfamiliar visitors; and as compliant as ice, so to speak, which is just on the thaw. They were sound, and like as it were rough-hewn (*cf.* 28); broad-minded as a valley (*cf.* 6, 28); mixing indiscriminately with common men. It is only by leaving the muddy to settle that it gradually becomes clear of itself; and it is only by a permanent feeling of security or letting alone (*cf.* 3, 10, 35) that results gradually respond to natural stimulus. Those who abide by Providence of this sort have no wish to assert its full force (*cf.* 4, 9). In a word, there being no exercise of full force, it is possible to go on wearing it down without needing any fresh renewal of it (*cf.* 22, 45).

16. Aim at extreme disinterestedness (*cf.* 10) and maintain the utmost possible calm (*cf.* 26). The innumerable objects display their activities in common, and all we have to do is to watch into what they resolve themselves (*cf.* 14): for each of these swarming objects reverts to its original root (*cf.* 14, 28), and this reversion to the root signifies calm; which is renewed life; which, again, means perpetuity. To understand this perpetuity is perspicuity (*cf.* 10, 27, 36): not to understand perpetuity gives rise to mischief and hurt. But to understand perpetuity means tolerance (*cf.* 15, 21); and tolerance is public spirit. Public spirit is Rule, and Rule is Heaven. Heaven is Providence, and Providence endures, so that the disappearance of our persons does not imply any crisis to them (*cf.* 25, 32).

17. As to the Final Cause, those below are conscious of its existence, and the next steps are to love it and to praise it; the next to fear it; the next to take liberties with it. Hence faith, if insufficient, is apt to become no faith at all (*cf.* 24). It is cautious (*cf.* 15), and weighs words; so when results are

achieved and things evolve (*cf.* 9), the people all say : " We have become so of ourselves " (*cf.* 23, 25).

18. It is only when the highest form of Providence loses its hold on the mind that we hear of benevolence and justice ; and it is only when sagacity and cleverness have begun to appear that we hear of great deceptions. It is only when the six natural social ties begin to work inharmoniously that we hear of filial piety and tenderness ; and it is only when the State falls into incompetence and confusion that we hear of loyal statesmen.

19. Could we put an end to the highest grade of men, and get rid of sagacity, the people would be a hundredfold the better for it. Could we put an end to benevolence and get rid of justice, the people would revert to more primitive filial piety and tenderness. Could we put an end to artfulness and get rid of gain, robbers and thieves would vanish (*cf.* 3). In these three instances it is the inadequacy of our means of literary expression (*cf.* 32) which causes us to create ideals. We should show simplicity and abide by the unartificial : we should have fewer interests and less desire.

20. Could we put a stop to " learning," no great harm would be done. Whether we say " Just so," or " Oh, dear ! " what does it matter ? Whether the point is good or is bad, what great difference does it make ? But what all mankind dreads, we are each of us bound to dread. A wilderness ! and with no end to it ! Every one comes flocking in as though taking part in the great annual fêtes, or bent upon the satisfaction of desire. I only am indifferent to all this, and feel no inducements : like an infant before he has reached boyhood (*cf.* 10, 28), drifting along in a purposeless manner ! Other people all seem to have more than they need, and I only seem to be left out. Indeed I have the mind of a simpleton, going stolidly along. Whilst other men are clear enough, I alone seem to be muddled ; whilst other men have their wits about them, I alone am easy-going. Illusory, like the ocean ; beating about, like as though without stopping. All other people have something to do, and I only feel like a mean dolt. I only am unlike other men, and I like to seek sustenance from my *mater creatrix* (*cf.* 1, 10, 25).

21. The tolerance (*cf.* 15, 16) of the fullest Grace is based

solely upon Providence as a principle ; but as to the entity of Providence, it is as fleeting as it is illusory (*cf.* 14). The images suggested by it are illusory in their fleetingness, and the objects yielded by it are just as fleeting in their illusoriness. In that dark vista of space (*cf.* 1) there are vital essences : those essences are unadulterated, and out of them comes truth ; and its name never leaves it (*cf.* 1) as it unfolds the panorama of created things. And thus it is that we know of the actual existence of the created things.

22. It is by bending that we survive, by giving way that we assert. It is by lowliness that we exercise full force (*cf.* 4, 9), by wear and tear (*cf.* 15) that we go on renewing. It is by owning little that we possess much (*cf.* 33) ; by owning much that bewilderment comes. For which reasons the highest form of man is single in purpose (*cf.* 10) as an example to the rest of the world (*cf.* 28). He shines because he does not show himself off ; is convincing because he does not justify himself ; successful because he does not proclaim success ; enduring because he does not assert himself (*cf.* 24). In a word, making no self-assertive effort (*cf.* 2, 8), no one else in the world can successfully assert against him. Thus we cannot say that the ancients¹ meant nothing by the expression " Bend and Survive." Of a truth, it is survival and reversion as well (*cf.* 14, 25).

23. Few words and spontaneity ! (*cf.* 5, 25). Thus the swishing wind lasts not out the morn, nor does the pelting rain endure throughout the day. And who does this ? Heaven and Earth ! So, even Heaven and Earth cannot keep up long : how much more, then, is it so in the case of man ! Hence those who occupy themselves with Providence are equal in Providence so far as Providence goes ; are equal in Grace so far as Grace goes ; and are equal in lapses so far as lapses go. As to those equal in Providence, Providence is only too glad to have it so ; as to those equal in Grace, Grace is only too glad to have it so. As to those equal in lapses, lapses are only too glad to have it so. When faith is insufficient, it is apt to become no faith at all (*cf.* 17).

24. Those who stand on tip-toe gain no footing ; those who sprawl out their legs make no advance. Those who show themselves off do not shine (*cf.* 29) ; those who justify them-

¹ Notice Lao-tsz's own allusion to more ancient philosophy.

selves are not convincing ; those who proclaim successes do not succeed ; those who assert themselves do not endure (*cf.* 2, 8, 22). Their position as regards Providence is like that of an over-feeder or a fussy-doer (*cf.* 3), which is apt to provoke men's repulsion (*cf.* 31). Hence those who really possess Providence do not willingly consort with such persons.

25. Things existing in a chaotic state had been produced before Heaven and Earth (*cf.* 1, 32). In solemn silence stood the solitary subjectivity, without any changes taking place ; revolving without any crisis (*cf.* 16). We may consider this the "mother of the world" (*cf.* 6, 20). As we cannot know its name, we may apply to it the term "Providence," and make a shift to use the word "greatness" as its name. Now "great" suggests going on, going on suggests distance, and distance suggests return (*cf.* 22). Hence there are the greatness of Providence, the greatness of Heaven, the greatness of Earth, and the greatness of the Emperor (*cf.* 4). There are four majesties in the concrete worldly organism, of which four the Emperor is one. Man looks up to Earth for guidance, Earth to Heaven, Heaven to Providence, and Providence to Spontaneity (*cf.* 17, 23).

26. Just as what is weighty must be regarded as the fundamental origin or root (*cf.* 6) of what is light, so is calmness the master spirit of impetuosity. For which reason the accomplished man travels throughout the day without leaving his caravan ; and though there may be fine things to see, he remains serenely above them all. How, then, should an imperial autocrat "treat lightly" the empire in his own person ? (*cf.* 13). By levity he loses his ministers' confidence ; by impetuosity he compromises his princely dignity (*cf.* 16).

27. He who walks judiciously leaves no tell-tale footsteps behind. He who speaks judiciously leaves no taint of censoriousness behind. He who calculates judiciously needs no tallies to do it withal. He who closes judiciously can, without the use of bolts, effectually prevent an opening. He who knots judiciously, needs no strings to prevent the untying of it. For which reason the highest form of man always by preference rescues people, and therefore never abandons people ; he always by preference rescues creatures (*cf.* 4), and therefore never abandons creatures. This is what is

called persisting in clear-sighted intelligence (*cf.* 36). Hence the good man is the teaching model for the bad man, and the bad man is the objective upon which the good man works. He who does not value (*cf.* 13) his model or love (*cf.* 13) his material must go far wrong, no matter how knowing he be. This is the real mysterious working of it (*cf.* 1).

28. Know the masculine or stronger aspect, but maintain due regard for the feminine or weaker (*cf.* 10, 36), in your capacity of vivifying stream irrigating the world (*cf.* 32), in which capacity, permanent Grace never leaving you, you will revert to infantine innocence (*cf.* 10). Know the whiter or more æthereal aspect, but maintain consideration for the darker or material, in your capacity of pattern (*cf.* 22) to the world, in which capacity, permanent Grace never failing you, you will revert to the infinite (*cf.* 14, 16). Know the favour or glory aspect, but maintain a due estimate of the disapproval or disgrace (*cf.* 13) in your capacity of broad-mind to the world (*cf.* 15, 32), in which capacity, permanent Grace being sufficient, you will revert to rough-hewn simplicity (*cf.* 15, 32). When this simplicity has gone, the result is a manufactured article, which, as utilized by the highest form of man, takes the form of administrative officials (*cf.* 15). Hence the grand standard is not tampered with or mutilated.

29. When it comes to taking possession of empire and instituting active steps (*cf.* 3), it seems to me that here we have a case of nilly-willy (*cf.* 31). Empire is a spiritual engine, which does not admit of really orthodox administration, and those who try their hands at it are apt to come to grief ; those who grasp at it only do so to see it slip away. Hence men must either lead or be led ; be, so to speak, the inhalers or exhalers (*cf.* 36) ; either the powerful or the decrepit ; the individual must support his burden or collapse (*cf.* 36). Thus it is that the highest form of man avoids extremes (*cf.* 9), avoids showiness, avoids luxury (*cf.* 24).

30. Those who support and counsel the rulers of mankind under the principles of Providence do not make use of military force to compel the world. Such a course is wont to bring retribution ; for brambles spring out from the land which has been occupied by an army, and years of dearth are certain to follow in the wake of great battalions. Hence the beneficent

man (*cf.* 8, 27) is satisfied with attaining his end, not venturing to proceed onwards therefrom in order to impose by force ; attaining his end without self-assertion (*cf.* 2), attaining it without proclaiming success (*cf.* 24), without exhibiting arrogance ; attaining his end because it is a case of nilly-willy (*cf.* 29) ; attaining it without overbearingness. For all creatures begin to age at maturity (*cf.* 14, 16, 28), and such action would mean " lack of Providence," lack of Providence indicating that an end is soon coming.

31. Now, glory in warfare is an inauspicious engine, and mankind are apt to show their hate of it (*cf.* 24) ; hence those who really possess the principles of Providence will have no truck with it (*cf.* 24). For this reason the accomplished man in his civilian capacity takes an Eastern or life-giving seat and attitude ; whilst, when in charge of troops, he prefers the Western, or life-taking ; warfare being an inauspicious engine, and not the engine of an accomplished man, who only makes uses of it in cases of nilly-willy (*cf.* 29, 30). He makes a colourless calmness (*cf.* 37) his chief aim, and hence has no good word for war : if he had, he would be delighting in it, and such a delight in it would be equivalent to delighting in human butchery. Now, a person who should take delight in human butchery could never make himself acceptable to the empire at large (*cf.* 35). The left, or east side is specially affected to auspicious matters, and the right, or west to the ill-starred. Thus it is that the general in charge of a special column takes the left position, whilst the commander-in-chief is always to the right : meaning that, as occupying the highest status, he must be particularly associated with the insignia of death and destruction. When the butchery of human beings is very heavy, we should bewail the fact with weeping and mourning ; and thus, when the victor emerges from the fight, he should be associated with the insignia of death and destruction.

32. Providence is perpetual, and destitute of any name (*cf.* 1, 37). Though the rough-hewn man (*cf.* 28) may be obscure, not even the whole world is competent to subdue his spirit. If our rulers could but abide by principle, all creation (*cf.* 1, 25, 37) would flock to them. It is the union of heaven and earth (*cf.* 25) that brings down the sweet dews ; and in the same way the people can adjust themselves without need for

legal sanctions (*cf.* 37). Names were given when the first statutory sanctions appeared (*cf.* 19), and names thus coming into existence, it became possible to know where to stop, for through knowing where to stop we avoid a crisis (*cf.* 16, 25). The function of Providence in the world may be compared with the functions of streams and valleys in relation to the Great River and the Sea (*cf.* 28).

33. He who understands other men is sagacious, but he who understands himself is clear-sighted (*cf.* 36). He who can overcome other men is strong, but he who overcomes himself is mighty. He who knows content is rich (*cf.* 22). It is he that persists who owns the potency of will. It is he that shows tact whose capacities endure (*cf.* 2, 10, 22). It is those that die without being forgotten who enjoy true old age.

34. The highest form of Providence is universal, and always at hand. The innumerable objects of creation (*cf.* 1, 25, 33) depend upon its unfailing action for their existence (*cf.* 2). It achieves results which yet cannot be named (*cf.* 37) as concrete being (*cf.* 1, 2), and cherishes the innumerable objects without disclosing the directing power (*cf.* 10). Hence it is ever without desire (*cf.* 37), nothing being too minute for it. The innumerable objects revert to it (*cf.* 14, 25) and yet are unconscious of its directing power, nothing being too great for it. Hence the highest form of man never magnifies himself, and is thus always great in achievement (*cf.* 8, 10, 15).

35. The empire will go out to him who holds fast to great symbols (*cf.* 10); will go out to him with a sense of security; every one feeling easy in body and calm in mind, in enjoyment of hospitable music and feasting, only limited by the departure of welcome strangers (*cf.* 3). The savour of Providence as thus manifested is destitute of distinct taste; it is incapable of forming an image to the eye (*cf.* 14), and is equally imperceptible to the sense of hearing; but its effects are inexhaustible (*cf.* 6).

36. If there is to be attraction, then the centrifugal idea is connoted, just as the notion of weakening inevitably involves that of strength (*cf.* 29), the act of deposing that of setting up; exactly as the intention to take possession assumes that there is *possessio*. These may be termed the abstract indications (*cf.* 14, 15, 27) of clear sight (*cf.* 33). But the soft and weak may overcome the hard and strong (*cf.* 28); hence the fish

should not try to leave his tank, and the effective weapons of state should not be paraded before the public in whose interests they are used.

37. Providence is perpetually without active purpose (*cf.* 2, 32), and yet leaves nothing undone. If our rulers could but abide by principle, all creation (*cf.* 32) would improve its own line of conduct. Should this improving development show tendency to restless activity, I would propose to check it with that unnameable rough-hewnness (*cf.* 25, 28, 32, 34) ; and as this unnameable rough-hewnness will have no desires (*cf.* 34), from this absence of desire we reach calm (*cf.* 31) ; and thus the world will right itself.

Second Division.

“To love justice, to long for the right, to have mercy, to pity the suffering, to assist the weak, to forget wrongs and remember benefits ; to love the truth, to be sincere, to utter honest words, to love liberty and wage relentless war against slavery in all its forms, to love wife and child and friend, to make a happy home ; [to love the beautiful in art, in nature ; to cultivate the mind, to be familiar with mighty thoughts that genius has expressed, the noble deeds of all the world ;] to cultivate courage and cheerfulness, to make others happy, to fill life with a splendour of generous acts, the warmth of loving words ; to discard error, to destroy prejudice, to receive new truths with gladness ; to cultivate hope, to see the calm beyond the storm and dawn beyond the night, to do the best that can be done and then be resigned—this is the religion of reason, the creed of science. This satisfies the brain and heart.”—COLONEL INGERSOLL.

The above newspaper extract, which I assume to be a correct quotation, expresses fairly well the “religion” of Lao-tsz, except as to the three lines I enclose in brackets. But, of course, there is no suggestion of prayer, hell, redemption, atonement, forgiveness of sins, and other matters inseparable from the later Western religions ; nor is there any special mention of women, continence, sobriety, honour, or social morality of any kind. Still, I think, now that my task is closing, that few will deny to Lao-tsz a large measure of noble thinking capacity : nor will even the most casual reader fail to perceive, with the help of my innumerable reference numbers, that a very consistent current of thought runs through the whole canon. It is too much to hope that the precise meaning of Lao-tsz’s more transcendental passages has in every case been apprehended : the only thing now remaining is for specialists

to go on comparing and refining until, by our combined efforts, we get the whole eighty-one chapters right and intelligible.

The word *tao* has, except once, in the very first line, been consistently translated "Providence" throughout the whole eighty-one chapters or paragraphs; but it must not be forgotten that Lao-tsz merely made a shift to express his meaning by borrowing a word already then in common use all over China, both in his own undefined sense, and in the more usual signification of "way," "principle," "teaching"; and it may well be that in some cases he consciously or unconsciously uses the word in its older and quite intelligible senses. Thus, "Heaven's *tao*" was contrasted in the ancient *Book of Changes* with "Earth's *tao*"; and "Confucius' *tao*" was from the beginning of his time meant for his "teaching." The specific exception, in the first line of the first chapter, is where *tao* is used (following the precedent of the *Book of Odes*) in the sense of "to speak" or "express"; but although this *seems* to be an exception in our language, it in no way prevents a justifiable alliteration in Chinese. In the paragraphs 77 and 81, it is somewhat of a strain to use one and the same word in order to compare man's—or even the highest type of man's—ideal with the unspeakable Providence of Heaven; yet it is not improbable that Lao-tsz really meant it to be so metaphorically, just as we say "a thief's *heaven* is a glass of grog."

In the same way, *têh* has invariably been translated as "Grace," and on much the same grounds. In 1878 Governor Pope Hennessy wrote to the late Viceroy Liu K'un-yih expressing sympathy with Canton after the fearful tornado visitation. The Viceroy's reply may still be seen at His Majesty's Consulate-General: "It is owing 'to my *slender Grace (poh-têh)*' that Heaven has visited us with this calamity," etc., etc. The word can there scarcely have any other meaning than our "state of *Grace* with Heaven."

It is not intended in this paper to bewilder the reader with questions of Chinese grammar, but it may be observed that many of the difficulties of "Lao-tsz" disappear if it be kept in mind that most Chinese "parts of speech" can be used, quite unmodified, as verbs. Thus, "to happiness" means "to bless"; "to one" means "to unify"; "to two" means "to divide," or "to disaffect." Not only this, but transitive

verbs, original or artificial, may be elegantly used as intransitives, actives or passives ; and often *vice versâ*. Not that the Chinese cannot say “ to unify,” or “ to be unified,” quite plainly if they wish it ; but the *elegantia* of Chinese composition partly consists in eliminating everything in the shape of particles, inflections, punctuations, and all visible aids whatever to clearness of thought and diction. The very first sentence in this paper (Par. 38) well illustrates the point. The literal words are “ high grace not grace and thus has grace ; low grace not lose grace and thus no grace.” Even in modern times an “ elegant ” writer will often be quite as obscure ; but Lao-tsz seems to have occasionally revelled in wanton obscurity. Both he and any modern Chinese could have easily tacked on the necessary particles and terminations, such as “ [the] high-[est] grace [does] not [make too much] grace [of its grace], and thus has [a genuine sense of] grace [in it] ” ; but, not knowing Lao-tsz’s personal equation, nor being familiar with antique style and thought, the modern Chinese, before doing so, must first guess rightly what is meant. The “ verbalizing ” of Chinese adjectives, nouns, pronouns, etc., is vividly illustrated by the use the Japanese and Coreans make of their native verbs *suru* and *hata*, respectively corresponding to the Chinese auxiliary *wei*, “ to do ” or “ become,” when they incorporate Chinese roots into their language. In fact, with them, as with us, there are really only one or two main “ verbs ” in existence—the predicates “ is,” “ has,” or “ does,” and “ becomes ” ; our so-called “ inflections ” and “ terminations ” probably being merely the degenerate, almost invisible forms of what in agglutinative and tonic languages are still plain rudiments, or even perfect primitive forms. Occasionally this is even provable. Thus, in modern Portuguese, instead of saying *responderia* (corresponding to the French *répondrais*), it is permissible to separate the old predicate from the verbal compound, and to say *responderles hia yo* (equivalent to *je leur répondrais* or *je répondre-leur ais*). Dr. A. Forke (of Berlin), in discussing the Chinese sophists who used to play with Taoist sayings so much, translates the above “ paradox,” as he calls it, “ perfect virtue is not virtue, and therefore it is virtue.” But there are numerous instances, both in ancient and modern literature, which go to prove that my explanation is the correct one. Thus, the

Book of Changes says: "to have merit and not [to] grace," *i. e.* "to have done service, and yet claim no credit for it," a sentiment which appears in almost the same words in Par. 77 below. The following is one out of many similar political sentences I have culled from modern Chinese newspapers:—"They will grace England and not grace China"; *i. e.* "they will *feel themselves under an obligation to,*" this being, so to speak, the passive form of "make an obligation of," "make a grace of," "ingratiate," or "to grace": in other words, it means "will be graced by." A good example occurs in Par. 49, where it is twice impossible to translate the word "Grace" otherwise than as a verb. In the same way, in Par. 67 we have "three preciouses," and "to precious" or "prize"; in Par. 65 "blessing", or "to be happinessed"; and in Par. 74 the passive word "afraid" turned into the active sense of "frighten"; and so on.

It will be noticed that in the present article, wherever the words *i-hi-wei* (the "Jehovah" of Par. 14) occur used separately in their natural sense (*vide* Pars. 14, 15, 23, 36, 41, 43, 53, 64, 70, 74), I give the Chinese sound as well as the translation, in order to show that the accident of their being once all three used together cannot reasonably be held significant. In Par. 23 of the last paper, *hi* means "few," and in Par. 36 *wei* means "abstract." Then, again, as to the supposed "Holy Trinity" of Par. 42, the oldest recorded Chinese idea apparently was that ether was the first existing thing; from which came the two male and female elements; from which, again, came "Heaven, Earth, and Man." But it is really immaterial to discuss what the Chinese, the Greeks, the Babylonians—or, for the matter of that, Lord Kelvin, Professor Lodge, or the German Emperor—*thought* or *think* of a mystery concerning which we have now no more human evidence than Lao-tsz had; and it is, of course, the function and duty of "revealed religion" to step into the breach here until irrefragable scientific evidence shall turn up. There is, I take it, nothing in "revealed truth" to prevent the Church from accepting any proved fact; nor in our own generation has the Church shown any fear of provable facts; for the Jesuits themselves are amongst the most rigid and pitiless of scientists: but in the absence of such hoped-for facts the Church has, of course, a right to make its sanctioned

disciplinary opinion obeyed so far as its power reaches ; this, indeed, is what Lao-tsz himself repeatedly says of "the machinery of administration."

If I have here departed (eight times) from my original promise to give a translation of the whole canon without notes or explanations, it is not in order to introduce technical or contentious matter, but in order to make things plainer for the reader of the translated text.

There is one unique peculiarity about the *Tao-téh King* which alone would go far towards establishing its originality. From first to last it never mentions either a specific person or a specific place. On the other hand, Sancius (Chwang-tsz) tells us innumerable anecdotes of Laocius (Lao-tsz), Licus (Lieh-tsz), Confucius (K'ung-fu-tsz), and the latter's disciples, none of whom were further removed from him than Dr. Johnson is from ourselves. Chwang-tsz quotes a large number of Lao-tsz's sayings, some quite literally, some almost literally, some partly literally, some more in spirit than by letter. In most cases actual quotations are preceded by the words, "Hence it has been said." If this were not enough to convince the sceptical, there is yet one striking instance (Sancius, Book viii. 6-7) where a visit to Lao-tsz is described, and the anecdotal circumstance under which Lao-tsz first adduced the illustration (Par. 55) about the child crying all day and yet harmonizing nature by not growing hoarse, is actually put into Lao-tsz's mouth prefaced by the words: "Lao-tsz then said." Still, I take it (though I have no evidence, and I am not aware that any one else has suggested it) that the last of the ten books of Sancius—in which the different tunes anciently played upon the one theme or idea *tao* by the *Book of Odes*, *Book of History*, *Book of Rites*, *Book of Changes*, and Confucius' *History* are clearly set forth; in which Lao-tsz and the Keeper of the Pass, his friend, are given precedence of all other *Taoists*; in which Confucius and the rival sophist schools are compared, etc., etc.—is not really the work of Chwang-tsz himself; for its business-like style savours rather of the historian Sz-ma Ts'ien, than of the imaginative philosopher, and it is by no means rare for old Chinese works to contain similar additions to the first text. But whoever added this chapter, and at whatever date, its language amply bears out the following contentions, to wit,

that all Chinese philosophical ideas previous to the "burning of the books" were based upon exactly the same thoughts, expressed in exactly the same books; that Lao-tsz first, and Confucius second, extracted radical and conservative systems from exactly the same words, and themselves simply ring the changes on those words; that Lao-tsz as a book is absolutely original, whilst Lao-tsz as a man undoubtedly existed; that Licius, Sancius, and the rest of them were mere developers, in less dignified and more personal form, of what Lao-tsz had set forth with such prudence and reserve; that one identical strain of thoughts runs consistently throughout the whole *Tao-têh* classic; that this thought is, so far as evidence takes us, native Chinese pure and simple.

Second Division.

38. The highest Grace (*cf.* 41) makes no pose of Grace, and for this reason really is Grace; whilst the lower quality of Grace may never divest itself of Grace, and yet never feels like true Grace.

The highest Grace, avoiding action, finds no necessity to act; whilst the lower quality of Grace takes action, yet still finds it necessary to act.

The highest benevolence (*cf.* 18, 19) takes action, and then finds no necessity to act; the highest justice (*cf.* 19) takes action, yet still finds it necessary to act.

The highest form of ceremoniousness takes action, yet finds no response at all, so that one must bare the arms and go on with action (*cf.* 69).

Thus it is that as Providence weakens, Grace takes its place; as Grace weakens, benevolence takes its place; as benevolence weakens, justice takes its place; as justice weakens, forms and ceremonies take its place. Now, mere forms are the degenerate phases of loyalty (*cf.* 18) and truth, and are the first beginnings of anarchy (*cf.* 18, 64). Forwardnesses and smartnesses are mere ornamental excrescences of Providence, and are the commencement of imbecility (*cf.* 48).

For these reasons the manly fellow takes his stand on what is honest or worthy, and will have no truck with the superficial

or degenerate ; he takes his stand on the real, and will have no truck with the showy. Hence he ignores the latter for the sake of the former (*cf.* 12, 72).

39. Instances of concentration or unification of effort in the past are clearness in the case of the heavens, repose in the case of the earth, spirituality in the case of the gods, fulness (*cf.* 45) in the case of space (*cf.* 6), life in the case of created objects (*cf.* 34), purity in the face of the world in the case of our rulers (*cf.* 32, 37, 42). The oneness of purpose is identical in each instance. Unless the heavens can be clear, there is a possibility of their being rent asunder ; unless the earth can be in repose, there is the possibility of its quaking ; unless the gods can be spiritual, there is the possibility of their being inactive ; unless the valley of space (*cf.* 6) can have fulness (*cf.* 4), there is a possibility of its being exhausted (*cf.* 15) ; unless the innumerable objects of creation can have life (*cf.* 21, 34), there is the possibility of their annihilation ; unless our rulers can be pure and esteem loftiness, they may come to grief (*cf.* 32, 42).

Thus the more distinguished take their root in the mean, and the more exalted have their foundation in the lowly (*cf.* 77).

For which reason our rulers, in speaking of themselves, have used the terms "bereaved one," "unworthy one," "ill-endowed one" (*cf.* 42). This is taking their root among the mean, surely, is it not ?

Hence it comes that if we carefully count up separately each piece that goes to form a cart (*cf.* 11), we have no cart at all. We must not go into nice questions of fine distinctions as to what is a rare gem and what a common stone in the whole body of principle (*cf.* 23).

40. "Return" indicates the movements of Providence (*cf.* 25, 65, 78), and "weakness" indicates the uses of Providence (*cf.* 78). Heaven, Earth, and the innumerable objects of creation derive their being from existence (*cf.* 1, 10, 34) ; and existence derives its being from non-existence.

41. The highest-minded candidates for office (*cf.* 15), after undergoing instruction in Providence, put it zealously into practice (*cf.* 53, 70) ; the mediocre ones, after listening to Providence, are as much dead as alive about it ; the inferior ones,

after listening to Providence, make great fun of it. Did they not ridicule it, it would scarcely deserve to be considered Providence. Hence, as it is put by those who expound these matters, the brilliancy of Providence comprises a certain dulness (*cf.* 14); the [*i.* or] unbroken planeness of Providence comprises certain distinctivenesses (*cf.* 14); the advance of Providence (*cf.* 62) comprises a certain retiringness (*cf.* 9).

The highest Grace is like a valley (*cf.* 15, 28): very white, and yet comprising disgrace.¹ The broadest Grace is as though insufficient, and in establishing Grace there is a certain stealthy diffidence (*cf.* 15): an homogeneous body, yet in a state of flux. A perfect square is without angularities; a great machine or utensil takes long to finish; great sound-waves make [*hi* or] small noise (*cf.* 2); a great symbol (*cf.* 35) has no obvious form (*cf.* 2). Providence is inscrutable and nameless (*cf.* 1, 25, 32, 34, 37). In short, Providence rejoices in endowing man (*cf.* 8) with the wherewithal to perfect himself.

42. Providence produced unity; unity produced duality; duality produced trinity; and trinity produced the innumerable objects (*cf.* 1, 2, 4, 25); the innumerable objects, carrying the feminine or shadow principle on the one side, and the masculine or sun-light principle on the other, creating a just harmony by their respective clashes of primitive impulse or ether (*cf.* 6, 25, 55).

The things which all men abhor (*cf.* 8, 24, 31) are being "bereaved," like orphans; being "unworthy" or out in the cold, like widows; and being "ill-endowed," as with the necessities of life; yet our princely and ducal readers (*cf.* 32, 37, 39) precisely adopt these terms to style themselves withal (*cf.* 39). Hence living creatures may, whilst taking off from, yet add to; or, whilst adding to, take off from. What men themselves teach, I will also teach to them. The violent (*cf.* 55) do not find a happy death, and therefore it is that I am taking them as the text of my homily.

43. The tenderest things in the world may over-ride the toughest (*cf.* 22, 55, 61, 78), just as *a hard thing may take its*

¹ I am very unwilling to suggest alterations in the text; but a reference to Par. 28 certainly leads to the belief that the ancient copyists must have omitted a phrase, and that the whole should run: "white suggests [*black, and glory suggests*] disgrace."

rise from nothing, and enter where there is no opening¹ (*cf.* 10). Whence we may know how it is that inaction (*cf.* 2, 3, 63, etc.) has its advantages. Lessons without display of words (*cf.* 2, 56, 73), advantageous results without doing anything—[*hi* or] few men in the world can attain to this point.

44. The reputation or the person (*cf.* 7, 9), which of the two is dearer to us? Of which do we want most, of our persons (*cf.* 9) or of wealth? Which does the more harm (*cf.* 22), acquisition or losing? For these reasons, deep attachment to anything must involve heavy cost, and great accumulations involve correspondingly enormous losses. He who is content (*cf.* 33, 46) risks no humiliations (*cf.* 13, 28, 41, and 41 note). He who knows when to stop incurs no crisis (*cf.* 16, 25, 32, 52), and may therefore endure² (*cf.* 7, 16, 44, 59).

45. In the highest degree perfect, yet accepting an air of imperfection (*cf.* 7), with capacity for use without exhaustion (*cf.* 6, 15, 22). Possessing the highest degree of fulness (*cf.* 39), yet used with restraint (*cf.* 4), such use being never pushed to extremes (*cf.* 9). In the highest degree straight, yet with an air of bending (*cf.* 22). In the highest degree artful (*cf.* 19, 57), yet with an air of clownishness (*cf.* 20). With the highest capacity for argumentativeness (*cf.* 81), yet with hesitation to speak (*cf.* 2, 5, 17, 22). Impetuousness (*cf.* 26) overcomes cold, but calm (*cf.* 16, 57) overcomes heat. Clear (*cf.* 15) and calm are needed to put one right or orthodox in the eyes of the Empire (*cf.* 22, 28, 37, 39, 56).

46. When the Empire is possessed of the principle of Providence, the pacing chargers are driven back to do tillage work; but when the Empire is destitute of such Providence, then war-horses spring up outside all our towns (*cf.* 31). There is no greater sin (*cf.* 46) than looking upon the covetable (*cf.* 3); there is no greater evil (*cf.* 69) than discontent (*cf.* 33, 44); there is no greater disaster (*cf.* 9) than acquisitiveness. Hence the enough of contentment is always enough.

¹ This mysterious sentence, which permits the imagination to run riot in various fancies, would have been totally unintelligible to me had I not discovered from the Concordance that Vainancius (second century B.C.) quotes it, *with the addition of* the three words "hard emanates from," as printed in italics.

² The context here suggests that the allusion to "names" in Par. 32 perhaps refers rather to a man knowing when to stop, with a "reputation made," without risking his person on further ambitions or showy schemes.

47. One may know the world without ever crossing the threshold ; one may discern the Providence of Heaven (*cf.* 9, 16, 25, 79) without ever looking out of the window. In fact, the farther abroad you go, the less you may know. For which reason the highest form of man knows without walking forth ; gives names to (*cf.* 35) without seeing ; and accomplishes without seeming to do anything (*cf.* 2, 3, 10, 34).

48. In learning, the object is to get on every day (*cf.* 20, 64). In practising Providence, the aim should be to do less and less every day (*cf.* 38), and to go on decreasing what we do until we arrive at complete inaction (*cf.* 10, 29, 47) ; in such wise that whilst not seeming to do anything we leave nothing undone (*cf.* 37). Hence those who secure Empire, generally manage it without much ado (*cf.* 29, 35, 57, 63) ; and when much ado is made about it, it will be found that those who try to secure it are unequal to the task.

49. The highest form of man has no fixed mind ; he makes the mind of the people his mind (*cf.* 3). With the good we should show goodness ; with those who are not good we should also show goodness (*cf.* 27), in order to grace goodness. To the truthful we should show truth ; to those who are not truthful we should also show truth, in order to grace truth (*cf.* 8, 21, 38, 63, 81). The highest form of man in his relation to the world (*cf.* 32) is apprehensive (*cf.* 13, 15), and allows his whole soul to go out freely to the world ; whilst the people, on the other hand, have their eyes and ears incessantly hanging upon him ; and the highest form of man thus regards them all as his children.

50. As with waxing to the full and waning to the eclipse, the waxing units numbering thirteen whole days, and the waning units numbering thirteen (*cf.* 76) ; so with man's birth until his busy career (*cf.* 40) ends in death, there are also thirteen phases. And why so ? On account of his persistency in keeping up life (*cf.* 75). For I have heard that persons possessing the secret of life never encounter¹ a rhinoceros or a tiger when they walk abroad ; never need to strap on sword or buckler (*cf.* 80) when they go to the wars. The rhinoceros cannot find in them the where to lodge his horn withal ; the tiger cannot find in them the where to place his claws withal ; the

¹ Other citations of this figure of speech suggest : " never *shirk* encounter with," as being the original idea intended.

weapon cannot find in them the wherein to insert its point. And why so? Because for such an one there is no finding death (*cf.* 7).

51. Being born of Providence (*cf.* 25, 41), nurtured by Grace (*cf.* 10), shaped by mortals, and completed by circumstances, the innumerable created objects, for this very reason, without exception revere Providence and honour Grace (*cf.* 62). Now this revering of Providence and honouring of Grace was never a conferred distinction, but always was so spontaneously (*cf.* 17, 25, 64). Hence Providence bears all things, nurtures¹ them, develops them (*cf.* 10), and rears them; completes them, ripens them, tends them, and protects them (*cf.* 34). Birth without concrete existence (*cf.* 2, 10), action without self-conscious assertion of it (*cf.* 2, 10, 77), and development without direction of it (*cf.* 10, 34)—this is what is called the colourless dissolution of Grace (*cf.* 10, 62, 65).

52. When the world had its beginning (*cf.* 1, 14, 42), it was as though the world had a mother (*cf.* 1, 20, 25, 59). Having thus the creating genitrix, the created offspring (*cf.* 4) became cognizable; and this offspring being known, reverts (*cf.* 16) to maintain the genitrix (*cf.* 28); the disappearance of persons not involving any crisis (*cf.* 16, 25, 32, 44). If you keep your mouth closed (*cf.* 23, 43) and your eyes and ears half shut (*cf.* 9, 15, 27), you will get through life without being busy; but if you open your mouth, and further this or that interest, your life will not suffice to put you right again. To detect small indications is perspicuity (*cf.* 16, 36, 55). To maintain the weaker or gentler aspect means strength (*cf.* 10, 28, 36, 43, 76, 78). Utilize the brightness of it (*cf.* 4, 58), and allow the brilliancy to revert once more (*cf.* 14, 28), not leaving behind any injury to the body (*cf.* 9); this is what is called persisting in (*cf.* 27) perpetuity (*cf.* 16).

53. Let me possess knowledge in a detached frame of mind, and exercise it in the service of the highest Providence (*cf.* 18, 34); the sole anxiety being how to use it so: for the highest form of Providence is exceedingly [*i* or] level and undeviating (*cf.* 14, 41), though most men prefer short cuts. Our royal

¹ One of my copies adds the word "Grace" before "nurtures," but a majority of citations leads me to expunge it, in spite of the preceding sentence.

courts are very spruce, while our fields are overgrown with tares, and our granaries are very empty : we wear rich raiment, carry sharp swords, gorge ourselves with food and drink (*cf.* 24, 75, 77, 80), and have more wealth than we know what to do with (*cf.* 9, 77) ; this is what may be called " all dancing to the wicked piper " : it is most assuredly *not* Providence.

54. Good builders do not pull up ; good holders do not let go. Thus it is as with the ancestral sacrifices which for ever have been offered by our posterity. Cultivated in one's own person, such Grace is genuine (*cf.* 21, 41) ; cultivated in the family, such Grace is abundant ; cultivated in the village, such Grace is permanent ; cultivated in the state, such Grace is fertilizing ; cultivated in the Empire, such Grace is universal. Therefore, as touches your person, regard it from the personal point of view ; as touches your family, regard it from the family point of view ; as touches your village, regard it from the village point of view ; as touches the state, regard it from the state point of view ; as touches the Empire, regard it from an imperial point of view. And thus it is how I am able to know that the Empire view is such (*cf.* 21, 57).

55. One who is deeply permeated by Grace may be compared with newly-born infants (*cf.* 10, 20, 28). Venomous creepers do not sting, fierce beasts do not seize, birds of prey do not clutch them. Though their bones be soft (*cf.* 3) and their sinews tender, they can grasp firmly. Though they know nothing of sexual connection (*cf.* 61), they experience erectile dilatation, this being the ultimate determination of the essences (*cf.* 21) within them. They howl all day without making their throats hoarse, the result being a harmonious balance of forces (*cf.* 42). To know this harmony is perpetuity (*cf.* 16) ; to understand this perpetuity is perspicuity (*cf.* 16) ; to go on increasing life is auspicious (*cf.* 16, 31). The exercise of impulse by the mind (*cf.* 10, 42) is potency (*cf.* 33). But, when beings reach maturity they begin to fall off ; which means the reverse of Providence ; and without Providence the end soon comes (*cf.* 30, 80).

56. Those who know best speak least ; those who speak most are apt to know least (*cf.* 2, 5, 17, 23, 43, 73, 81). Keep your mouth closed, and your eyes and ears half shut (*cf.* 52). Check undue impulse, solve entanglements, subdue undue

brightness (*cf.* 58), and equalize what is disagreeable (*cf.* 4), which is called the colourless dissolution shared in common (*cf.* 1, 51). There ought not to be any undue affection (*cf.* 79), nor any undue repulsion. There ought not to be any question of deriving advantage (*cf.* 73), nor any of inflicting injury. There ought not to be any respecting of persons, nor any contemning of persons (*cf.* 39). And thus you become esteemed in the eyes of the empire (*cf.* 22, 23, 37, 39, 62).

57. We should use orthodox (*cf.* 45, 57) measures in administering (*cf.* 3, 8, 59, 64) the empire (*cf.* 10, 60, 65), just as we may use exceptional or surprise measures in manœuvring troops (*cf.* 31, 69); and possession of empire should be obtained with as little ado as possible (*cf.* 29, 48). Thus it is that I know (*cf.* 21, 54) that this is so. The more artificial prohibitions there are in the empire, the poorer are the people. The more weapons of power (*cf.* 36) are entrusted to the people, the more blundering is the government likely to be (*cf.* 18). The more cunning arts the people learn, the greater the flood of strange objects of luxury (*cf.* 15). The more legal enactments there are, the more thieves and robbers will abound (*cf.* 19). Hence the highest form of man says (*cf.* 78): So long as I am inactive (*cf.* 2, 3, 10, 38, 43, 48), the people will improve their own line of conduct (*cf.* 37); so long as I love calm (*cf.* 16), the people will right themselves (*cf.* 37); so long as I make no ado with them (*cf.* 48), the people will get rich by themselves (*cf.* 33); so long as I am without desire (*cf.* 34, 37), the people will be simple of their own accord (*cf.* 15, 19, 28, 32, 37).

58. If the administration be easy-going (*cf.* 20), the people will be unsophisticated; if the administration exercise its wits inquisitorially (*cf.* 20), the people will be lacking or imperfect (*cf.* 45). Evil or disaster, forsooth, may be promptly succeeded by attendant happiness; just as happiness, forsooth, may have evil lurking behind it. Who can know when the turning point will come? Surely but there is no stopping to it! (*cf.* 20). The regular becomes once more the exceptional (*cf.* 57). The good becomes once more the hurtful (*cf.* 20). In fact, the people have been going astray or wrong (*cf.* 27) for a very, very long time. For this reason the highest form of man is like a square which is not to be chipped (*cf.* 28, 41); pure

without a flaw ; straightforward (*cf.* 45) without abuse ; bright but not dazzling (*cf.* 4, 52, 56).

59. In managing men as in serving Heaven, there is nothing like economizing forces (*cf.* 67). Now, this economy is what may be termed early self-subjection, and early subjection means a heavy accumulation of Grace ; with a heavy accumulation of Grace, there is nothing but what can be conquered ; and when there is nothing but what can be conquered (*cf.* 63), then no one can know where the end will be ; when no one knows where the end will be, it is possible to possess the State power (*cf.* 29, 78) ; and there being thus the genitrix of State power (*cf.* 52), there is a likelihood of its enduring (*cf.* 7, 44). This is called deepening the roots and strengthening the stem, being that Providence which is enduring and everlasting (*cf.* 7, 44).

60. Administering a great state (*cf.* 57) is like cooking a mess of fish. If you approach the Empire armed with Providence, the devils will no longer possess spiritual powers ; not that the devils will not actually possess such powers, but with them they will be unable to injure men ; not, again, that they themselves will do no harm to men, but even the highest form of man will do no injury to men. Now, as neither side does an injury to man, therefore Grace falls in reversion to both the spiritual and human aspect of man (*cf.* 52).

61. Great states should allow favour to flow down on those below (*cf.* 8). The world's intercourse is practically the world's female (*cf.* 6, 55). The female usually by quiescence (*cf.* 15, 16, 26, 37) overcomes the male (*cf.* 78), and quiescence or calmness represents the inferior or below (*cf.* 43). Thus, when a great state is conciliatory or deferential to a small state, it ends by taking the small state ; whilst, on the other hand, when the small state is humble and respectful to the great state, it " captures " the great state. Hence whether by lowliness you are taken, or by lowliness you take, in the case of the great state it only wishes to annex and nurture individuals (*cf.* 10, 51) whilst in the case of a small state it only wishes to take part in serving (*cf.* 59) individuals. In either case the desired object is gained. Hence the great should be lowly.

62. " Providence " is the esoteric principle¹ of the innu-

¹ The word *ao* is practically the same in meaning as the word *wei*, which, indeed, is actually used to explain what *ao* means ; moreover, the words

merable created objects (*cf.* 14), the jewel of the good man (*cf.* 27, 67, 69), the stand-by of the bad man (*cf.* 27). Nice words (*cf.* 81) will always find a market, and noble deeds will never come amiss to folk. How is it possible to abandon people (*cf.* 27) because of their want of goodness? Hence, in setting up an Emperor, or in appointing the three chief Ministers, although it may be glorious for them to sit in a state chariot, preceded by jewelled-sceptre bearers, it were better for them to remain at home and advance their store of Providence (*cf.* 41). Why was it that the ancients honoured (*cf.* 51) this Providence so highly? Was it not that they looked for answers to their prayers and hoped for remission of their sins? (*cf.* 46). For this reason was it esteemed throughout the world (*cf.* 56).

63. Act with the least possible dwelling on action (*cf.* 2, 57, etc.) ; employ means with the least possible ado (*cf.* 48, 57, etc.) ; taste with the least possible dwelling on the savour (*cf.* 12, 35). Make the big as little, make the many as few as possible (*cf.* 4). Requite enmity (*cf.* 75) with Grace. Overcome difficulty where there is least resistance (*cf.* 9). Achieve maximum results by minimum means (*cf.* 31). All the difficult things in the world are evolved out of easy individual items, and all the great things in the world are evolved from petty individual items. Hence the highest form of man never unduly magnifies, and is thus able to achieve results of magnitude (*cf.* 34). Now, he who lightly consents is sure to be little trustworthy (*cf.* 26, 81) : he who regards most things as easy will find the most difficulties (*cf.* 69). For which reason the highest form of man always inclines to see possible difficulties (*cf.* 73), and thus in the end finds no difficulty (*cf.* 13).

64. It is easy enough to maintain peace when you already have it. It is easy enough to form effective schemes (*cf.* 73) before trouble or inducement arises (*cf.* 20). It is easy enough to break what is already brittle. It is easy enough to disperse what are already [*wei* or] insignificant indications (*cf.* 36, 62). Take action before a matter becomes concrete being (*cf.* 1, 14).

hüan-ao and *hüan-wei* are both used to express the same "colourless-abstruseness" which is so difficult to translate, and which eludes every effort of the mind to grasp or realize : it seems to be the "Absolute" or "Void" of our Western philosophers, who probably scarcely understand themselves what they mean. "None so wise as Thurlow looks."

Keep order before confusion (*cf.* 18, 38) arises. A tree you can scarcely clasp with your arms (*cf.* 76) originated with a slip or seed. The nine-storeyed tower¹ begins with a pile of earth. The thousand-furlong journey commences with the first foot-step. Those who try their hands at action are apt to come to grief; those who grasp at a thing are apt to see it slip away (*cf.* 29). But the highest form of man, by not making work (*cf.* 2, 63, etc.) escapes coming to grief; and by not grasping at a thing, does not see it slip away (*cf.* 8). The way most people go about a piece of business is usually to ruin it when just on the point of completion. Be as careful at the end as at the beginning, and then you will not spoil a piece of business. For which reason the highest form of man desires that which others do not desire (*cf.* 8, 37), and places no value upon rare possessions (*cf.* 3, 12); he makes a study of what others do not study² (*cf.* 20, 48), and goes back to that (*cf.* 14, 16, 19, 28, 52, 80) which the generality of people pass by, in order to encourage the principle of spontaneity (*cf.* 17, 23, 25, 51) in all created beings, and their hesitation to do anything which need not be done (*cf.* 3).

65. Those who in ancient times were good hands at Providence did not use it to educate the people (*cf.* 36, 57); they used it to befool them (*cf.* 38). The reason why the people are so hard to govern (*cf.* 75) is that they are apt to know too much (*cf.* 18, 27, 33, 36); and therefore a man who governs his State on "knowing" or sagacity principles (*cf.* 19) is a traitor to the State, whilst one who is not "knowing" in his government of the State is a blessing to the State. He who understands these two points may take them for his model, and the fact of understanding such a model (*cf.* 22, 28) is what is called the colourless dissolution of Grace (*cf.* 1, 10, 51). This colourless Grace extends deep and far³ indeed (*cf.* 25), re-acting upon created objects (*cf.* 40), until at last it attains to perfect accord (*cf.* 55).

¹ This cannot reasonably be supposed to have anything to do with Buddhist pagodas, which always have an odd number of stages. The "Sublime Porte," or gate of the royal palaces, was known as the "Nine Storey" many centuries before Buddhism was heard of in China.

² The philosopher, Chwang-tsz, develops this idea in rather a more complicated sense.

³ China's first great historian Sz-ma Tz'ien (100 B.C.) who frequently quotes whole sentences of the canon, in discussing the comparative merits of Lao-tsz and his imitators Chwang-tsz, Han Fei-tsz, and Shên Puh-hai,

66. The reason why the Great River and the Sea are able to rule over the countless streams (*cf.* 28, 32, 78) is that the former are good at placing themselves in a low place of receptivity as compared with the latter (*cf.* 7, 8, 68, 76) ; hence they are able to act as the ruling impulse to the countless streams. For this reason the highest form of man, when he wishes to place himself above the people, must in his language place himself below them (*cf.* 22, 76) ; if he wishes to take precedence of the people, he must keep his personality in their background (*cf.* 7, 9). For which reason the people make no objection (*cf.* 80) when the highest form of man is in occupation of the superior position ; the people suffer no injury¹ (*cf.* 35) when he occupies a front position. And then the Empire is delighted to acclaim him, and does not get weary of him (*cf.* 72), the reason being that, making no self-assertive effort (*cf.* 3, 8, 68, 73, 81), no one else in the world can successfully assert against him (*cf.* 22).

67. The world all mistakenly says I am great with the appearance of not being equal to what I preach. Now, it is precisely on account of the grandeur of my subject that I appear unequal to it. If I appeared equal to it, I should be remaining small for a very long time indeed. But at least I can possess three of its gems, value them, and hold on to them : to wit, tenderness (*cf.* 18, 19) ; to wit, thriftiness (*cf.* 59) ; to wit, an objection to placing myself in front of the rest of the world (*cf.* 3, 7, 66) : through being tender-hearted one is able to display bravery (*cf.* 73) ; through being thrifty one is able to display profusion ; through hesitation to stand in front of

says : "They all draw their inspiration from the idea of Providence and Grace (*tao-têh*), but Lao-tsz goes deepest and farthest ;" and, again : "I have found Han Fei-tsz particularly difficult to understand." Professor Giles thinks Sz-ma Ts'ien never saw Lao-tsz's book at all.

¹ *Puh-hai*, or "no injury," or "sense of security," is the name of the philosopher Shên-tsz, mentioned in the last note : he is the Chinese Draco, and died 337 B.C.—a further proof of the genuine antiquity of Lao-tsz's book. In the same way the *Pao-p'uh*, or "show simplicity," of Par. 19 gives the name to the latter Taoist philosopher *Pao-p'uh-tsz*, of the fourth century ; and *Kwan-yin-tsz*, or "Pass official," gives the literary name to Lao-tsz's friend for whom he wrote the work I am now translating. The fact that the private name of the Taoist philosopher Lieh-tsz (Licius) is taken from an expression in the *Book of Changes* (Yü-k'ou) only increases the general evidence in favour of the all-round genuineness and continuity of Taoist history. Lao-tsz himself obtained many of his ideas from Kwan-tsz (seventh century B.C.), who treated minutely of *tao* and *têh*.

the rest of the world one is able to qualify as administrative instrument (*cf.* 15, 28). No! The kind of bravery which is without tenderness (*cf.* 31), the profusion which is without thriftiness, the forwardness which is without retiringness—these will land you at death's door. But with tenderness you conquer in the attack (*cf.* 68), and are all the firmer in the defence; for Heaven will come to your rescue (*cf.* 27), and with the same tenderness protect you (*cf.* 69).

68. Those who serve as officers most creditably (*cf.* 15) are never blustering; those who are the best hands at fighting never lose their tempers; those who are best at gaining victory never strive (*cf.* 73) in emulation; those who are the best at utilizing other men yield place to them. This is called the Grace which doth not strive (*cf.* 8); this is called the capacity for utilizing mankind (*cf.* 33); this is called being on a par with Heaven—the highest ideal of all time (*cf.* 9, 16).

69. It has been said by military strategists: "Better be the visitor than the visited"; and again: "Better retire a foot than advance an inch" (*cf.* 57). This is called action without acting (*cf.* 38), baring without the arms (*cf.* 38), going on (*cf.* 38) without the enemy, grasping without the weapons. There is no greater evil (*cf.* 46) than despising an enemy, for in despising the enemy you risk losing one of my gems (*cf.* 67). Hence when it comes to the hand-to-hand fight, it is the compassionate or bewailing man who conquers (*cf.* 31, 67, 76).

70. What I say is very easy to understand, and very easy to do; but the world is incapable of understanding it and incapable of doing it (*cf.* 20, 67, 78). The words have a progenitor (*cf.* 4), as the affairs instanced have a master-spirit (*cf.* 26); but, as general ignorance prevails (*cf.* 3), of course I myself am not understood. Those who understand me being so [*hi* or] few, it thus redounds to my honour. For these reasons, the highest form of man is content with a rugged exterior and the knowledge of his own hidden value (*cf.* 3, 12, 72).

71. To know that you cannot know much is best, but to imagine you know the unknowable is disastrous. Now if you shrink from what is disastrous you will not incur disaster (*cf.* 44). The highest form of man does not incur this form of disaster, because he shrinks from the disastrous (*cf.* 73), and for this reason does not incur such disaster (*cf.* 3, 8, 9, 13, 22).

72. The people have no fear of the ordinary terrors of the law (*cf.* 24), the supreme question of life and death being ever before them. Therefore do not confine their scope within too narrow bounds (*cf.* 80); do not make their lives too weary (*cf.* 66). If you do not weary them in this way, then they will not weary you. For which reason the highest form of man knows what is in him (*cf.* 7, 8, 33, 70), but does not show himself off (*cf.* 22, 24, 77); respects himself, but does not place a value on himself (*cf.* 13, 22, 24). Hence he ignores the latter for the sake of the former in each case (*cf.* 12, 38).

73. He who is eager in running risks gets killed; he who is eager in not running risks survives (*cf.* 71). Of these two aims (*cf.* 67) the one is advantageous as the other is disadvantageous, yet both may be equally abhorred of Heaven (*cf.* 31). Who knows the why? And thus it is that even the highest form of man finds it hard to choose between them (*cf.* 63). The Providence of Heaven (*cf.* 9, 47, 79) never strives either way, yet is best at gaining victory (*cf.* 68); without words (*cf.* 56, etc.), is best at securing response (*cf.* 38); without summons, is best at attracting comers (*cf.* 10, 35); without flurry, is best at forming effective schemes (*cf.* 64). The net of Heaven is spread far indeed; though its meshes be large, it allows none to slip away (*cf.* 34, 37).

74. As the people do not fear threats of death (*cf.* 72, 75), what is the use, then, of trying to frighten them with it? If it were possible to keep the people in continual fear of dying and of becoming ghosts, we might find our account in arresting and killing them. But who would dare? (*cf.* 31). There are always proper judicial officers charged with executions (*cf.* 29, 32), and for us to undertake executions on behalf of the executioners would be like our hacking on behalf of the carpenter. Now, if we took to hacking on behalf of the carpenter, there are [*hi or*] few of us but would maim our hands (*cf.* 29).

75. The people are hungry on account of the amount of taxation consumed by their superiors; that is why they hunger (*cf.* 24, 53). The people are difficult to govern on account of the meddlesomeness of those above them; that is why they are difficult to govern (*cf.* 65). The people despise death (*cf.* 74) because they are so desperately anxious to obtain a livelihood; that is why they despise death. It is those who place

no value on their own lives (*cf.* 16, 52) who are the most high-minded (*cf.* 3, 77) in the matters of their own and others' lives.

76. Man at his birth is soft and tender (*cf.* 55) ; at his death he has become hard and strong (*cf.* 30). Created objects and vegetation at their birth are tender and crisp ; at their death they are like wilted and hollowed poles. Hence the firm and strong belong to the category of the waning or dead ; the soft and tender belong to the category of the waxing or living (*cf.* 50). For which reason a powerful army is not necessarily a conquering one (*cf.* 30, 31, 67), and a powerful tree bends over with its own weight. Thus the powerful and great may occupy the lower (*cf.* 66), the soft and tender the higher, position (*cf.* 36, 78).

77. Is not Heaven's Providence (*cf.* 9, 47, 73, 79) rather like drawing a bow ? If too high, we lower it ; if too low, we elevate it. If it is too much, we reduce it (*cf.* 42) ; if not enough, add to it. The Providence of Heaven is to take from abundance (*cf.* 20), to make up what is not enough. The Providence of Man is not so : there is taken from those who have not enough to supply the wants of (*cf.* 24, 53) those who have superfluity. Who is capable of possessing abundance sufficient to supply the wants of the whole world ? Only those who really possess Providence (*cf.* 24, 31, 46). For which reason the highest form of man takes action without self-conscious assertion (*cf.* 2, 51), and achieves results (*cf.* 2, 9, 22, 34) without boasting. How unwilling he is to show off his "high character" ! (*cf.* 3, 75).

78. Of the soft and tender things in the world nothing is more so than water (*cf.* 8, 76) ; but for attacking the firm and strong (*cf.* 76) nothing can surpass it : nothing will serve as a substitute for it. How the weak may thus overcome the strong, and how the soft may thus overcome the hard (*cf.* 36), every one in the world knows, but no one is able to do it himself (*cf.* 70). Hence, as the highest forms of man have said¹ (*cf.* 57) : "He who takes upon himself the dirt of the state may

¹ As one instance out of many hundred, showing how Lao-tsz derived his ideas from extremely ancient books, or from books which equally inspired Confucius, I may quote the following, taken respectively from the *Book of History* (ends with 721 B.C.), and from the Amplification by his pupil of Confucius' own History (722 to 481 B.C.) : "The Son of Heaven acts as the people's father and mother, and as such is the King [or Emperor] of the World [or Empire]." And again : "That the prince of a state should hold dirt in his mouth is the Providence of Heaven."

be styled the lord of its tutelary gods, whilst he who takes upon himself the inauspiciousness of the state, is styled the king or emperor of the state " (cf. 57, 77) : true words which seem to return (cf. 40, 65) !

79. Though great enmities may be appeased (cf. 63), there is bound to remain some vestige of ill-feeling. How is it possible to be on perfectly good terms again ? Thus it is that the highest form of man keeps a loyal hold upon his agreements, but makes no exacting claim ; he who possesses Grace takes cognizance of the spirit of the agreement ; he who possesses no Grace takes cognizance only of the tithes due. The Providence of Heaven (cf. 77, etc.) has no personal preferences (cf. 56), and is always on the side of the good man (cf. 49, 67).

80. My ideal is a series of small states with small populations. Let them possess an army machine (cf. 29, 31, 36, 41, 57, 67) of moderate size, but not be too ready to use it (cf. 31, 67, 70). Let them place a proper value on their lives (cf. 75), and refrain from distant migrations. Then, though they will be possessed of boats and carts, there will be no one to ride in them ; though they will be possessed of arms and cuirasses, there will be no need for arraying them. Let the people revert to the old *quipu* system of records (cf. 3, 37), enjoy their food, take a pride in their clothes, dwell in peace, and rejoice in their local customs (cf. 72). Each state would be within easy sight of the other ; the sound of each other's hens cackling and dogs barking would be heard across. The people of each state would live to a good old age, and would have no movement of intercourse with neighbouring states.

81. True words are apt to be not liked ; pleasant words are apt to be untrue (cf. 62). Good or beneficent men (cf. 30) do not wrangle, and wranglers are apt not to be good men (cf. 5, 23, 45). Those who know best do not range over many subjects, and those who range most widely do not know best (cf. 56). The highest form of man cares not to accumulate (cf. 3, 77) : so far as he uses his resources for others, he increases his own store ; so far as he gives them to others (cf. 8), he has the more for himself. The Providence of Heaven (cf. 9, 79, etc.) benefits and does not injure (cf. 27, 67) ; the Providence of the highest form of man takes action without self-assertive efforts (cf. 3, 8, 68, 73, etc.).

CHAPTER IV

TAOISM

THERE has always been a persistent disposition on the part of European writers who have discussed this question to consider *Taoism* purely as a religion, and to trace its origin to the spontaneity of Lao-tsz or Laocius, whose life covered the greater part of the sixth century B.C. The real fact is that throughout the whole of ancient Chinese history, so far as we can know it at all by the light of surviving literature, there was always a fundamental notion that the emperors, as vicegerents of Heaven or of God, governed according to the *Tao* or "way"; and to walk in this way, or, as we express it in common parlance, "to do the right thing," was supposed to be the special study of the emperor, his advisers, and his officers, besides being loosely understood of the people in a general sense; much as we in England flatter ourselves that we all know right from wrong, though we allow divines the privilege of preaching to us what we know on fixed weekly occasions. Hence what we consider the separate departments of government, law, religion, and morals, were never divided off very clearly from each other in the Chinese State conception, and were each regarded as a symptom-treatment rather than an ideal or a definite end in the general scheme of order and human happiness based upon an assumed natural law. In the same way, both before and after the appearance of Lao-tsz's new doctrine, the word *Tao* was appropriated by all schools of thought, and was not the exclusive property of any one. In fact, to a Confucianist¹ of the second century B.C. belongs the honour of having best defined the word in its largest abstract sense. He says: "*Tao* is that which is free of vice for all eternity, whilst vice is that in which there has been a

¹ Tung Chung-shu, *Han Shu*, chap. lvi., p. 17.

lapse from *Tao*." An earlier definition of 706 B.C. is that *Tao* means loyalty to the people and fidelity to the spirits.

It may be added that the assiduous cultivation and practice of *Tao* was from earliest times supposed to generate a habit called *Têh*, which we Westerners commonly translate "virtue," but which seems rather to mean the quality of mind, just as Shakespeare tells us that "The quality of mercy is not strained." In my book *China and Religion*,¹ therefore, I have continued to use the terms "Providence" and "Grace," which I originally applied in the *Dublin Review* to the two divisions of the classic of *Tao* and *Têh*—the book of 5000 words written by Lao-tsz at request about 500 B.C.; but it must be remembered that Lao-tsz, in his anxiety to stay the degeneration of his age, had long before that been accepted all over China as the leader of a new school, and that school had already extended the original meaning of *Tao* by endeavouring to identify the springs of human conduct with the workings of cosmogony and the processes of unconscious evolution. It must also be remembered that long after Lao-tsz's death, a succession of fanciful philosophers² had gradually given positive form to this purely theoretical cosmogony and evolution, and had constructed upon it a systematic fabric of hocus-pocus and fable, which base decoction at the beginning of our era, by borrowings from Buddhism, and probably also from the Tartar, Japanese, Corean, and other beliefs, became a sort of religion or superstition, as far as possible removed from Lao-tsz's original teachings. These successive phases—pure political philosophy, fanciful courtiers' imagery, and popular spiritual superstition—have ever since then so run into and obscured each other that the true historical issues have become confused except where original texts have been studied; with the result that *Taoism* is unfairly described; and Lao-tsz himself, together with his book, is rashly denounced as a myth.

Accurate dates in Chinese history—the general truth of which, however, there is no reason to doubt—only begin with the middle of the ninth century B.C. The imperial or old centralized power was then beginning to decline, and the satrapies or vassal states which throughout two millenniums at

¹ John Murray, 1905.

² Chwang-tsz, Lieh-tsz, Wang-Hü, Shi-tsz, Tsou-tsz, T'ien-tsz, etc.

least had quietly submitted to central guidance, were now beginning to feel and to employ their own strength. The empire was still practically confined to the valley of the Hwang Ho or Yellow River, and the more northerly of the federated vassals had all their work cut out for them to defend this comparatively circumscribed region from the inroads of the horse-riding nomads of the north; no other foreign enemies seem to have been very dangerous. Though the historians and political writers, from Confucius downwards, bewail the decay of good old patriarchal principles, the real fact seems to be that the settled race which we call Chinese had for long been rapidly growing in material wealth and cultivated intelligence; it required expansion, and the old system of government was no longer able to cope with rising ambitions: in short, "home rule" and "duma" were the cry then as now. There is ample evidence that several of the northerly princes were semi-Tartar in their habits and modes of government;¹ that their rulers occasionally bore Tartar names; that journeys to the Far West, supposed to have been made by Chinese emperors, were really expeditions to the Tarim valley made through the country of Tartar princes; that the Chinese borrowed many notions—including the celebrated twelve-animal cycle still in use all over Asia—from the Tartars; and that (as Confucius afterwards admitted) China had been within an ace of losing its independence and becoming a Tartar province, or at least a Tartar milch-cow. The situation was, in short, much like that of Europe at different stages, when vassals of the feeble Roman emperors set up as semi-independent monarchs in Gaul, Germany, Spain, and Pannonia, or when Christendom was within an ace of becoming Hun or Arab.

One of the greatest characters in Chinese history is Kwan-tsz, who, during the seventh century B.C., raised the vassal state of Ts'i (the northern part of Shan Tung province), to an hitherto unheard-of pitch of prosperity. He developed the salt and fishing industries, encouraged commerce, beautified and made gay with seductive pleasures his master's capital, and was equally keen in the interests of literature. His own book² of eighty-six chapters still survives in great part, and is

¹ The states of Ts'in, Tsin, Chao, Yen.

² It has been argued by Professor Giles amongst those who wish to

considered, in fact, to be one of the earliest works on *Taoism*, though by some historians he is assigned a place amongst the law writers. The prince under whom Kwan-tsz served was the first of the "Five Tyrants," who for a century (685-591 B.C.), in the capacity of self-nominated Cæsars, protected the imperial Augustus on the one hand and their own vassal colleagues on the other from the Tartar attacks, and from the evils of civil war. It was of Kwan-tsz, indeed, that Confucius spoke when he said: "Had it not been for him, China would have worn [Tartar] pigtails."

It was after the Five Tyrant Period, when the different vassal states were all struggling for supremacy, that the retired scholar Lao-tsz (who was earning his livelihood as a keeper of the archives at the puppet Imperial Court) attracted his neighbours' attention by his new definitions of what *Tao* ought to be. According to the old historical way of putting it, the old *Tao* of the ancient kings was rapidly decaying; the same *Tao* of the reigning Imperial dynasty was falling off; the vassals found *Tao* a check upon their ambition; hence there was no *Têh*, or educated quality inherent in men's minds; and so on. An active exchange of visits between the learned men of each state is very clearly stated to have gone on ever since inter-state commerce became general at the initiative of Kwan-tsz, and great fairs or marts had grown up at a dozen or more of trade centres¹ in the Yellow River valley; and, of course, the small state under the immediate rule of the Emperor, though low down then in power and political importance, was still much sought as a literary centre: it was a depository of duplicate archives for reference, and of ancient collections—literary, ceremonial, pictorial, musical, and what not. Apart from the fact that standard history and philosophical writings both repeatedly record the specific visit or visits of Confucius to Lao-tsz, with

discredit Lao-tsz's book that Kwan-tsz, "who lived in the fifth century," does not mention that book. As a matter of fact, the late Alexander Wylie, in his *Notes on Chinese Literature*, wrote "fifth" instead of "seventh" century, and his mistake has thus been carelessly copied by subsequent critics. In Dr. S. W. Bushell's *Chinese Art* there are specimens of the writing employed in Kwan-tsz's time, and the Victoria and Albert Museum possesses a fine bronze bowl inscribed with a perfectly historical record of 550 words: date 590 B.C.

¹ These are enumerated at the end of chap. cxxix. of the *Shi-ki* of Sz-ma Ts'ien published 90 B.C.

their conversations, there is every reason to suppose that he would do so, not only because it was the universal custom of literary men to do so if they could afford it, but because he is known to have visited most of the states in the Yellow River valley, and to have had literary friends in each. For example, the standard history just mentioned¹ published (for Court use in the first instance) about 90 B.C., states specifically that "the persons most sedulously cultivated by Confucius were Lao-tsz in the Imperial domain; K'ü-pêh-yüh² in the State of Wei; Yen P'ing-chung³ in the State of Ts'i; Lao-lai-tsz⁴ in the State of Ts'u; Tsz-ch'an⁵ in the State of Chêng; and Mêng-kung Ch'oh in his own native State of Lu."

The object of the Chinese statesmen who exhibited such mental activity at this period was not at all to "save their souls," and prepare for another life, but to devise acceptable formulas with a view to stay the ruinous, secular, and contemporary race for wealth, power, and glory during this life. The situation was in many respects politically analogous to that of Europe at this moment, when a few enthusiasts are vainly striving for reduced armaments and a simple life in the face of trusts, wanton luxury, and restless ruling personages. The word *ju*, usually translated "literati," or Confucianists, signified the school anxious to bring back men's minds to the old order of things, to the *Tao* of the almost prehistoric⁶ emperors Yao and Shun, and of the founders⁷ Wên Wang and Wu Wang of the Imperial dynasty then still reigning, but running to decay. Confucius was not the first of this school, any more than Lao-tsz was the first of the *Taoists*; but Confucius best voiced the leading tenets of this school, and is therefore held to be the first representative apostle of the *ju*; just as Lao-tsz, who first conceived, developed, and voiced the republican, socialistic, and democratic extension of *Tao*, is usually

¹ *Shi-ki*, lxxvii., 1.

² Several times mentioned in at least two of the Confucian classics.

³ The philosopher Yen-tsz, himself ranked as a Confucianist, but a great critic of their principles. As a Ts'i administrator, he was scarcely inferior to Kwan-tsz himself.

⁴ A *Taoist* philosopher, whose book of sixteen chapters still existed in 10 B.C.

⁵ The first statesman to publish laws for the people.

⁶ *Circa* 2300 B.C.

⁷ *Circa* 1100 B.C.

considered the representative apostle of *Taoism*; though he was by no means the first *Taoist*, and though still later *Taoism* than his own had little in common with his own ideas.

During the fourth century B.C. the princes of Ts'i, Chao, and Ngwei—all powerful vassal states of "great power" rank in the Yellow River valley, within the limits of modern Chih Li and Shan Tung—entertained quite a large number of learned men and distinguished philosophers. Among the Confucianists were Mencius, whose book, still studied by every Chinese schoolboy, gives us vivid notions of the relations existing between territorial princes and peripatetic philosophers in those days; Ch'un-yü K'un, who declined to accept office; Li K'êh, pupil of Confucius' disciple Tsz-hia, who (Tsz-hia) had himself been the tutor of the ruler of Ngwei, and had trained up at least half-a-dozen other distinguished men, both civil and military, at that court. Among the legists was Li K'wei, whose code, though its details have disappeared, is at the root of all subsequent Chinese law to this very day; Wei Yang, who carried Li K'wei's legal and politico-economical principles to the Western Court of Ts'in (Shen Si province), and thus prepared the way for the ultimate conquest of China by that power; Shên Puh-hai, the Draco of China (better known as the *Taoist* philosopher Shên-tsz, because his ideas were based on Lao-tsz's legal notions), whose book in six sections was still in existence in 10 B.C.; and Zhên Tao, also known as the *Taoist* philosopher Zhên-tsz,¹ whose book in forty-two sections was also still known in 10 B.C., and even partly survives to this day. The quietist school, or pure *Taoists* of Lao-tsz model, had a curious fancy for hiding their family identity under *noms de guerre*, it being a part of their democratic and socialistic temper to efface, so far as it was possible, individuality and personal distinctions of all kinds. So much was this the case, that, even within a century or so of their deaths, curious antiquarian writers² often found it impossible to discover their family and personal appellations. Of these innominate were Tsieh-tsz and Hwan Yüan, the latter apparently

¹ I write "Zhên" to distinguish from "Shên" just mentioned, the ancient initial not being capable of reproduction now, and being bound up with the "tone."

² *Han Shu*, chap. lxxii., 1.

identical with the *Taoist* philosopher and pupil of Lao-tsz, Yen Yüan or Yen-tsz,¹ whose book of thirteen sections was also extant in 10 B.C.

During this fourth century B.C. the diplomatic school of political intriguers, headed by the notorious Su Ts'in and Chang I (both of whom had studied under the *Taoist* recluse Wang Hü, better known by his pseudonym Kwei-kuh-tsz),² accentuated, developed, and brought into active, tortuous play the innocuous and perfectly honest administrative ideas suggested by Lao-tsz; and the following century witnessed the efforts of the "four heroes" to stem the rising tide of Ts'in, and to prevent if possible the conquest of China, which was now being openly attempted by that formidable state. At this period, known to history as that of the Fighting States Period,³ the individuality of reigning princes was beginning to be overshadowed by the virile qualities of their prime ministers. The "four heroes" just mentioned were the practical rulers of Ts'i, Chao, and Ngwei, and of a fourth great power called Ts'u, which had developed out of Annamese stock and Chinese colonists in the Hwai and Yangtze valleys. These four statesmen made it their business to collect at their respective courts all the learned men they could induce to settle there. For instance, the philosopher Sün-tsz, or Sincius (chiefly celebrated for his taking the view, opposed to that of Mencius, that human nature was at root corrupt and not pure), was given office by Hwang Hieh, the Bismarck of Ts'u, in whose honour modern Shanghai still bears a peculiar literary⁴ name. Sün-tsz had studied under the cosmogonist Tsou Yen, and has left us a book in thirty-three sections, one of which is devoted entirely⁵ to Lao-tsz and his philosophy. Another distinguished contemporary of Tsou Yen was the great General Yoh I, whose family was strongly and hereditarily *Taoist*, and furnishes several individual links in the chain connecting Lao-tsz himself directly with the *Taoist* teachers at the great revolution of 200 B.C.

It is hardly too much to say that during the Fighting States

¹ Not to be confused with the Yen-tsz already mentioned.

² *Shi-ki*, lxx., 1.

³ 481-230 B.C.

⁴ Ch'un-shên.

⁵ See vol. xiii. of the *China Review*, Mr. E. Faber's statements.

Period Confucianism had become quite discredited: it was considered unmanly. Or, rather, the struggle for political existence was so desperate that, like Christianity during the French Revolution, its tenets were temporarily thrust aside as being more suitable for women and old men, the sick and the feeble—as being inconvenient, in short, for the busy days of strife. *Taoism*, on the other hand, especially the corrupt diplomatic and legist schools now affiliated to it by their own superimposition of “dogma,” was in high favour, especially at the virile Ts’in Court, where for at least a century back the most far-seeing and deliberate preparations had been made to get rid of antiquated, wishy-washy notions, and to encompass the subjection of all China under one supreme autocrat. This ambitious object was at last achieved in 221 B.C., when the triumphant ruler of Ts’in, having by a bold admixture of force and intrigue succeeded in destroying the power of each formidable opponent state in detail, declared himself “First Emperor,” and ordained that, instead of being consecrated with posthumous personal appellations, his successors should be innominate, and simply numbered successively for ever. Satrapies were abolished; government centralized in provinces and prefectures; writing reformed and unified; weights and measures standardized; roads and cart-axles made of one size, etc.

To illustrate how deeply the new dispensation was affected by *Taoist* principles, it may be mentioned that the new emperor’s Chancellor Li Sz (who had, moreover, studied under the philosopher Sün-tsz¹), adopted the draconic system of ruling developed by the two legists Shên Puh-hai and Wei Yang. Another distinguished *Taoist* and legist, Han Fei, had hastened during the process of conquest to the Ts’in Court, in order to save his own State, and to consult with his friend Li Sz. Han Fei, like Li Sz, had been a pupil of Sün-tsz, and he had even written a book for the use of Li Sz, who, however, ultimately felt jealous of his superior abilities, and ungratefully connived at his murder in 233 B.C. Han Fei’s chief work, in fifty-five sections, is still with us, and intact. Although he is

¹ It will be seen, from this and other instances which follow, that at this period *Taoists* and Confucianists studied together in a friendly way, often under the same teachers.

officially classed as a legist, he is, like Shên Puh-hai, treated in the biographical sections of history as a *Taoist*. He quotes Lao-tsz very largely, and is, in short, one of the chief under-studies and developers of Lao-tsz and his book.

The First Emperor, though under strong *Taoist* influence, and more especially under the influence of the mystic and charlatan developments of later *Taoism*, was not in the least actively hostile to the Confucianists, until, on the occasion of his visiting the sacred mountain of Ts'i State¹ in order to celebrate his victories by sacrifice, he was confronted with unwelcome and organized Confucian opposition in the shape of "deputations," and reminders about forms and precedents. It must here be explained that the whole of Chinese literature in those days consisted (so far as we know it) of the classics—as expurgated and edited by Confucius—and of the philosophical works of the "hundred writers" or critics, all of whom, unless they were specialists in medicine, agriculture, war, astrology, and so on, drew lessons from the same old hackneyed events and sayings; and, according to whether they were Confucianists and divinerighters, *Taoists* and radicals, Legists and absolutists, Cosmogonists, Purists, Denominationalists, or what not, placed interpretations and extracted morals as best conformed with their own particular preconceived views; much as certain didactic moralists amongst ourselves—as, for instance, the late President Krüger—draw illustration and warning from the acts of Rehoboam, who made Israel to sin, from David and Absalom, Ananias and Sapphira, or Daniel in the lions' den. In his eagerness to establish a new and homogeneous order of things, the Emperor found himself continually thwarted in his pleasures and confused in his schemes by these Savonarolas and Jeremiahs; and so in the year 213 B.C., at the suggestion of his obsequious Chancellor Li Sz, he conceived and carried into instant execution the drastic notion of entrapping and putting to death all the learned men he could lay his hands on, besides destroying all the contentious literature. If we reflect that in those days books were simply enormous masses of thin bamboo slips, each slip bearing upon one face only from a dozen to a score of characters, laboriously traced in varnish, and strung

¹ T'ai Shan, where all emperors like to make solemn dynastic sacrifices, even in modern times.

together by a thong at one end into chapters, each chapter weighing from two to three pounds, it may be imagined that the possessors of books were few and well known; in fact, "clerks" were as rare as at the English Conquest, when even earls and bishops could not sign their names. Of the classics, the *Book of Changes* was spared,¹ as it fell under the category of divination or astrology, which science, together with those of medicine and agriculture, was considered harmless, and even useful to the public weal. The Emperor's hatred was more particularly directed against the *Book of Odes* and the *Book of History*, for merely possessing which unprivileged persons were liable to the penalty of death. Nothing is specifically said of Taoist works having been spared; but, on the other hand, there is no mention whatever of any Taoist work or Taoist student having been destroyed. As the new empire was notoriously founded upon the doctrines of the Legist school of Taoists, it is highly probable that Taoist works, especially those of the quietist school, which were careful not to criticize individuals or mention definite dates and places,² were never in any way interfered with.

The First Emperor died before he had been able to consolidate the really great, if violent, work he had planned out and carried to such a successful conclusion. His son, the Second Emperor, was not made of his father's stern stuff, and the loosely-tied knot soon became undone. The adventurers and generals who fought for the reversion of the rich prize were much too busy with their armies and their commissariat to trouble their minds about morals or philosophy. At last a jovial *viveur* of the people, who had gradually risen from the position of raiser of militia to the dignity of Duke of P'ei and Prince of Han, found himself in the year 202 B.C. firmly seated on the throne as founder of the Han dynasty. Although no single word is anywhere said of his having any Taoist proclivities, it is repeated over and over again that he utterly despised Confucianism and all its ways. Moreover, he gloried in simplicity and rough-and-ready remedies. He declined to wear long robes,

¹ There are four official statements to this positive effect, all before the Christian era.

² Neither Lao-tsz nor Kwan-yin-tsz, his friend, ever names a person or place.

to go through any ceremonial forms, to discuss questions of propriety, to bow and scrape, or to listen to goody-goody sermons of any kind. He said: "I have won the empire on my horse's back, and not by listening to your rotten Confucian stuff." "Just so, your majesty," said the distinguished diplomatist Luh Kia; "but can you also hold it together on horseback?" Before he died the Emperor was to a certain extent tamed. He allowed the Confucianists to arrange a test Court for him, and rather enjoyed playing the magnificent. "Now," said he, "now I see what a great thing it is to be Son of Heaven." There was some talk even of a sacrificial hall, and a resuscitation of the old ancestral sacrifices. After his death in 195 B.C., female intrigues about succession and other sordid family disputes placed purely military advisers once more in power during the short reigns of his young legitimate son and of that son's mother, the Dowager; so nothing whatever was said about either political Confucianism or political *Taoism* for some years. The tyrannical law about the possession of Confucian books was, however, suspended, and no time was lost in hunting for copies of the old literature. Ts'ao Ts'an, the premier or chancellor from 193 to 190 B.C., was not only himself a *Taoist* and a student of Lao-tsz, governing on *Taoist* principles, but he introduced to the Imperial Court an old Ts'i philosopher named Koh Kung, who had received his tuition from the Yoh family, already mentioned, and could trace the teaching through six pedagogues, back even to Lao-tsz himself.

The Emperor Wên Ti was the elder son, but by a concubine, of the founder of the Han dynasty, and came to the throne in 180 B.C. He is often called the Marcus Aurelius of China, on account of his calm and philosophical disposition. Though decidedly *Taoist* in his views, he was considered to belong rather to the Denominationalist school of lawyers—that is, to the "equity" men, as distinguished from the more severe and strictly punitive school of Shên Puh-hai and Han Fei. As might be expected from his character, Wên Ti achieved much in the way of law reform, especially in the direction of abolishing mutilation and vicarious punishments. Though *Taoist* in his views, he was no enemy of the Confucianists; on the contrary, so soon as ever he heard that a copy of the

Book of History had been discovered, he sent one of his leading statesmen to look for the old man who had buried it in 213 B.C., and who had since taken advantage of the suspension of the "law against possessing odes and history" to produce it, and to teach what survived of it once more in the old states of Ts'i and Lu (now mere provinces). Thus the *Book of History* was the first of the classics to come to light again, and the others gradually reappeared bit by bit in analogous ways, there being a complete record in each case of how they were found, who studied them, who were the best authorities, which the best editions, how the keys were discovered which enabled the antiquated form of writing to be scientifically compared with the simplified forms introduced by the First Emperor; and how Wên Ti, like his father, showed a tendency at least, if no eagerness, to readmit the half-forgotten Confucian ceremonial and tenets into the Palace on an official basis.

But there was a serious obstacle: *Cherchez la femme*. His wife, the Empress Tou, was not only an admirer of Lao-tsz's doctrines, but for some political reason not explained in detail she intensely disliked Confucianism. There are over a dozen specific narratives of her behaviour upon this question scattered over various chapters of the great history of Sz-ma Ts'ien (issued 90 B.C.) and that of the early Han dynasty (covering the period 200 B.C. to A.D. 1). She is distinctly stated to have insisted on her son, the Emperor King Ti, son of Wên Ti, and also on her own clansmen of the Tou family who were at Court, studying¹ the sayings of Lao-tsz. The story is over and over again narrated of how during the reign of Wu Ti, her grandson, she consulted a prominent Confucianist about the *book* of Lao-tsz; how she condemned him to risk his life in the wild-boar arena as a penalty for having spoken contemptuously of that *book*, but how he was saved by the sensible Emperor (who regretted, but was powerless to correct, the Dowager's anger) lending him a first-class pig-sticking javelin of his own, and thus saving his life. This was all in 139 B.C., or before it. It was also repeatedly narrated how the old Dowager succeeded in ruining the official careers of two other Confucianists, named

¹ The word is *tsh*, "to read," and necessarily involves a book, which, moreover, is twice specifically mentioned.

Wang Tsang and Chao Kwan, who were anxious to reintroduce conservative customs.

As to King Ti himself, an anecdote is told of an argument which took place earlier in his own presence between the Confucianist Yüan Ku (the one who was afterwards condemned to pig-sticking for abusing Lao-tsz's book) and the *Taoist* scholar Hwang Shêng (the same man who instructed Sz-ma Ts'ien's father Sz-ma T'an in *Taoism*), and how the level-headed Emperor succeeded in closing the mouths of the disputants by a shrewd witticism about "a man not being a fool for saying half what he thinks." Other anecdotes are related of the same magnanimous Emperor in connection with *Taoist* statesmen who had reprovved him during his father's reign, and whose outspokenness he forgave when he himself came to the throne.

Wu Ti was the son and successor of King Ti; it was under his reign that China discovered the Far West, and underwent great political expansion in the south, the Tartar steppes, and the Far East. He was from the beginning inclined to suspicion, credulity, and superstition. Even before he came to the throne, in 141 B.C., the pure old *Taoist* philosophy had, as we have seen, been sadly wrested beyond its primitive scope by the quacks and the wonder-mongers; and many are the tales told of the pranks played at Court by a succession of impostors who professed to have had spiritual relations with An-k'i-shêng and other more or less innominate *Taoists* of the First Emperor's time, and even beyond, and whose existence (though most probably genuine) had become still more obscured in men's memories since the destruction of records and learning: besides, the inveterate quietism and self-effacement of the leading *Taoists*, many of whom went into hiding when they heard how rude the Han founder was to Confucian scholars, made it often impossible to ascertain their family names even at that time; and it is so stated. It was in order to counteract the Emperor's superstitious tendencies, and to prove that Lao-tsz was not a miracle worker, but a common man with known and commonplace antecedents like the rest of us, that the historians Sz-ma T'an and his son Sz-ma Ts'ien deliberately consecrated a special chapter of their history book to the *Taoists*.¹ Meagre

¹ The masterly translation of this great work by Professor Chavannes, of Paris, has already reached five volumes in 2000 pages.

though the personal details of Lao-tsz given to us are, they are yet as full as in the case of many if not most of the old philosophical personages ; Mencius, for instance, of whom even less is recounted. The last thing, at any rate, that Sz-ma Ts'ien can be charged with is want of candour, for he eventually suffered the cruel punishment of castration for his outspokenness before Wu Ti ; and not a single Confucian, while they all of them condemn him and his father for ranking Lao-tsz and his doctrine above Confucianism, has a solitary word to say against the historian's fairness and good faith. Though Sz-ma Ts'ien gives us all the " yarns " then in vogue about Lao-tsz, *alias* Lao-tan, and relates naïvely and frankly how he had been confused with his quasi-namesake, the *Taoist* Lao-lai-tsz, and even with another archivist named Tan, who lived two centuries later than Lao-tsz, he makes it quite clear himself, and the commentators and critics make it clearer still, that the historian wished to, and did successfully in his chapter upon Lao-tsz, distinguish between the small amount of truth procurable and the large amount of popular tradition which smothered that truth. Besides, Sz-ma Ts'ien criticizes and quotes whole passages from Lao-tsz's book ; moreover, he devotes the introductory parts of two separate chapters to parallel quotations from Confucius and Lao-tsz, in order to contrast their opinions as bearing upon the subject in hand.¹

During Wu Ti's reign there were two great collectors of books, both of them Imperial princes, reigning semi-independently as satraps of provinces, but under the supremacy of the Emperor in matters of public law and general policy. These princes were Liu Ngan, Prince of Hwai-nan, grandson of the founder Liu Pang ; and Liu Hien, Prince of Ho-kien, son of King Ti, and consequently, like Wu Ti himself, great-grandson of the founder. The former of these two has left the greater reputation behind him ; partly on account of the sad fate which overtook himself and his father in turn in connection with political intrigue ; and partly on account of his having left behind him a philosophical work known as *Hwai-nan-tsz*,²

¹ It has been argued by Mr. Giles that Sz-ma Ts'ien never saw the book or believed in its existence.

² The book of Lao-tsz was at first known by no other name than "Lao-tsz," and whenever Han Fei, Wên-tsz, Hwai-nan-tsz, or any other ancient writer quotes, he says, "Lao-tsz says." In the same way "Mencius

which we still possess intact. Probably the prince himself (who is said, however, to have been a very quiet man) had nothing to do with the actual writing or composing of the book which bears his name, and which quotes about sixty or seventy important passages from Lao-tsz in order to point the moral of as many political anecdotes. When he says "hence Lao-tsz says," he means "hence the book of Lao-tsz says"; and when he wishes specifically to speak of the man he calls him Lao-tan. He also repeatedly quotes Kwan-tsz, Confucius, Shên-tsz, Zhên-tsz, and most of the other philosophers of the old days; but (so far as I can find) he never names Mencius, nor does Mencius name Lao-tsz. The Chinese historians do not class him as a *Taoist* at all, but as a *tsah-kia*, "mixed man," or "eclectic." He quotes as much of the cosmogony of Tsou Yen as he does of the quietism of Lao-tsz, and hence has as much right to be considered a Cosmogonist as a *Taoist*. Nothing could be more inept, therefore, than to argue that Lao-tsz's book is a forgery of the early part of our own era, made up of a re-hash of Han Fei and Hwai-nan-tsz, who quote him so freely literally and by name in the third and second century before our era; not to speak of the fact that Lao-tsz's own specifically-described book was also actually in the hands of the Empress Tou nearly two centuries earlier than our era.

But Hwai-nan's nephew, or cousin once removed, the Prince of Ho-kien,¹ was even a greater and a more discriminating collector than his senior counted by generations. He entertained an even higher class of *literati* at his court than his kinsman, and also by the thousand; moreover, he spared no money to search out, carefully recopy for the owner, and himself purchase at any cost the ancient originals of any and every valuable historical manuscript he could obtain. It is distinctly stated by the historian Pan Ku² that among the rare old books purchased by Prince Ho-kien were copies of "Lao-tsz" and "Mencius," both of them in the ancient character used previously to the destruction of literature in 213 B.C.—and

says," or "Confucius says." Later on Lao-tsz's book was called the "Tao-têh Sections," and later still the (two sections) "Tao Classic" and "Têh Classic."

¹ *Shî-ki*, lix. 1; *Han Shu*, liii. 1.

² Died A.D. 92; author of the *Han Shu*.

also previously to the existence of the Ts'in dynasty—as also ancient copies of the *Book of History* and the *Book of Rites*. His collection of books is stated to have been superior even to that of the Imperial Court; and when he visited that court in state, he was able to present to his brother, the Emperor Wu Ti, some fine ancient music; besides introducing to his majesty an aged musician who was practised in the traditions of the Ngwei court in Mencius' time. Pan Ku's commentator even goes on to say that the earlier historian, Sz-ma Ts'ien, who wrote before him, had omitted to state these facts, and some others like them; so that there is no suspicion attached to them. The Prince of Ho-kien, besides, was himself the author of a work in eighteen sections (bearing his name), called *Imperial Institutes*, and was a great patron of Confucianists and “*Tao* craft”—the last words being used here (and often elsewhere), singularly enough, not to mean the “*Taoism*” of Lao-tsz, but the ancient *Tao* of the patriarchal kings and of Kwan-tsz.

The superstitious Emperor Wu Ti, whose credulity had led indirectly to the judicial murder of his own son and heir in connection with some trials for witchcraft, and thus to the intrigues of his learned uncle-cousin, the Prince of Hwai-nan, for the Imperial succession, repented him of his many political and “religious” errors before he died, and more especially of the brilliant conquests that have shed such lustre upon his name, but which then seemed to many so unnecessary, and which cost so many myriads of lives and impoverished the resources of China so grievously. Even during his father King Ti's reign, Confucian statesmen had been patronized at Court so far as the Dowager would allow; and during the long reign of Wu Ti himself (141–87 B.C.) they may be said to have gradually ousted the Lao-tsz *Taoist* element altogether, which had become discredited, partly because¹ the pure quietism of Lao-tsz had been encrusted by inferior imitators with mysticism, wonder-mongering, and alchemy; partly because Confucianism was found after all to be more practically useful to a now thoroughly centralized power; and partly because long wars, rebellions of satraps, princely insolences, and revolutions had impoverished the capacity for literary productiveness of

¹ As the Chinese say, “the pearls were confused with fishes' eyes.”

the leisured classes, and the almost complete rediscovery of the old classics had provided ready-made instruments for more settled government.

The Imperial family of Liu (or Han)¹ really deserves everlasting credit for its literary services. Towards the beginning of the Christian era, Liu Hiang, the great-great-grandnephew of the founder, and Liu Hiang's son Liu Hin had almost entirely reconstituted the *corpus* of then-known literature; indeed, the Han historians give us a complete list of the books existing at the Imperial Court, or at least known there in, say, 10 B.C., the year before Liu Hiang's death. There were 13,269 rolls² or chapters, contained in 596 separate works upon thirty-eight classes of subjects, grouped under six heads—classics, writers, poetry, theories, science, and craft. The *Tao-kiä*, or *Taoist* authors, occupied the first place of honour in the second group, coming immediately after the six classics, and the list of prominent *ju*, or Confucianists. Moreover, the *Taoist* writers are apparently arranged pretty closely according to their dates, there being, it would seem, no book extant at that time (10 B.C.) between the book of Kwan-tsz³ (who may therefore be styled the last of the old *Tao-kiä*) and the book of Lao-tsz⁴ (who, as we have seen, gave a fresh impetus to the ancient *Tao*). There were no fewer than three editions,—by three separate editors, all named,—of Lao-tsz in the Imperial library; and Liu Hiang himself had contributed a fourth work in four sections, called *Liu Hiang's Comments on Lao-tsz*. Next in order came the book, in nine sections, of Lao-tsz's own pupil Wên-tsz, who was also the pupil of Confucius' disciple Tsz-hia, and who is mentioned in the well-known work of the philosopher Mêh-tsz or Meccius.⁵ Wên-tsz's own book quotes Lao-tsz; but on account of its relating imaginary ancient conversations, it is characterized in the list as being "apparently a mere borrower from others." Then there were the thirteen sections of Yen Yüan (a pupil of Lao-tsz), who, as

¹ Liu was the family name; Han the principality (and later the dynasty).

² Silk, and a sort of "paper" made of waste silk, had partly replaced bamboo slips long before the discovery of paper proper in about A.D. 90.

³ Seventh century B.C.

⁴ About 500 B.C.

⁵ Mêh-tsz took rank in the old philosophical discussions with Confucius; the expression "K'ung-Mêh" is often used in the sense of the *ju* or Confucianists.

already suggested (p. 138), was perhaps identical with Hwan Yüan, the *Taoist* found at the courts of Ts'i and Ngwei during the fourth century B.C. ; nine sections of the *Taoist* Kwan-yin-tsz, at whose request Lao-tsz wrote his book ; fifty-two sections of the fanciful *Taoist* Chwang-tsz, who has never had much weight as a philosopher, but, on the other hand, is incomparable as a *littérateur* ; and eight sections of the somewhat apocryphal *Taoist* Lieh-tsz ;¹ twenty-five sections of the *Taoist* T'ien P'ien, who was also at the court of Ts'i in Mencius' time ; and sixteen sections of Confucius' friend, the *Taoist* Lao-lai-tsz, who was even then mistaken by some ignorant persons for Lao-tsz himself.

When we reflect what are our own difficulties with Greek, Roman, and Hebrew classical and scriptural texts, we can scarcely wonder that these Chinese volumes—rediscovered, reconstituted, and re-edited between 200 and 10 B.C. ; at a time, too, when a new form of script had just come into vogue to suit the newly invented hair-pencil ; when bamboo slips were giving way to rolls of silk, and cheap paper was just about to be discovered to replace the expensive silk paper made out of silk waste—should at best leave much to be desired in points of historical perfection, accuracy of text, confusion of text with comment, expurgations and additions, etc. ; but, as the Chinese are absolutely and exclusively the sole authorities for everything that concerns themselves and their neighbours at that remote date ; and as their historical conscience and historical scruple have always taken the highest rank for good faith, it is monstrous for Europeans, possessing at best a mere smattering of this vast body of literature, to come forward with the ridiculous theory that neither Lao-tsz nor his book ever in fact existed, but are, on the contrary, mere creatures of imagination and forgery subsequent to the beginning of our era. The real fact is, this outrageous theory was first broached without reflection or ripe study, with the apparent objective of attracting attention and gaining notoriety ; it can only be wantonly defended now by garbling and tampering with texts which are, and always have been, quite convincing to the Chinese themselves.

¹ Many years ago Dr. Eitel said all there was to say about the genuineness or otherwise of this book. Whatever its origin, it certainly existed long before our era, and is characteristic of the times.

One of the commentators and critics of the Han history, anterior to the great Yen Shī-ku of the seventh century, was Ts'ui Hao, who lived in the fifth century of our era. He is absolutely the only man in standard history, for 1000 years after Lao-tsz's death, who has in the remotest degree expressed doubt about Lao-tsz's book. It is related of him that "he had no liking for Lao-Chwang books, was wont to cast them aside impatiently after reading them a little, and declared that such nonsense could not have been written by Lao-tsz, for Lao-tan was able to instruct even Confucius in propriety; *and of such trashy books it might well be said, as Yüan Ku said in 139 B.C., that they were more suitable for a pack of retainers than for a royal court.*" The fact that Ts'ui Hao says "books of Lao and Chwang,"¹ or alternatively "Chwang and Lao," proves that he was thinking of "Lao-Chwangism" generally, and could not have meant exclusively the *Tao-têh King* of Lao-tsz, who lived two centuries before Chwang-tsz; but even if he did, he admits that Confucius knew Lao-tsz, and that Lao-tsz's actual book was in the Empress' hands in 130 B.C. Yet by the suspicious device of omitting the italicized words, it has been pretended that Ts'ui Hao denied the authorship of Lao-tsz, and that the *Tao-têh King* was forged after the Christian era out of materials found in Chwang-tsz, Han Fei, and Hwai-nantsz. Moreover, in the same chapter on Ts'ui Hao (but at least a dozen pages farther on), in speaking of Ts'ui Hao's calendar, the historian states that "since the founding of the Han dynasty in 200 B.C. up to now, more than ten authors have fabricated spurious calendar systems." By transferring this statement about the fabrication of books on the calendar to the passage on *Taoism* just cited, and by concealing the fact that the fabrication in question referred solely to calendars, the same untrustworthy special pleading is employed to try and prove on second grounds that the *Tao-têh King* was really and officially stated to have been fabricated at some later date.

The destruction of literature by the First Emperor in 213 B.C. is by no means the only instance in which Chinese records have been destroyed. The collection so painfully made by Liu

¹ The *Pêh Shī* has one form and the *Wei Shu* the other, both works treating of the Tartar dynasties of North China, and Ts'ui Hao's biography being nearly identical in both histories.

Ngan, Liu Hien, Liu Hiang, and Liu Hin, was utterly annihilated at the burning of the capital¹ by rebels in A.D. 23, when Liu Hin himself committed suicide. The second Han dynasty, founded by Liu Pei, moved the Imperial capital to Loh-yang, where it had been when Ts'in conquered the whole empire. This place was similarly destroyed by rebels about A.D. 190; 2000 carts full of books perished in the flames. After this China was split up for four centuries. During the fifth century, when Ts'ui Hao was serving the Tartars, the southern dynasty of Ts'i (at modern Nanking) lost 90,000 rolls of literature in a palace conflagration. During the Sui dynasty, a century later, several hundred thousand rolls were lost by shipwreck whilst being removed in boats. Nearly 200 years later, again, 80,000 rolls perished at the sacking of the capital² by the Turkish rebel Anlushan; and once more, in A.D. 880, twelve warehouses full of books were lost at the destruction of the same capital by the rebel Hwang Ch'ao. But, of course, in a vast country like China it was always possible for patient collectors to do what is now being done again by Shanghai printers—to search for, pay well for, and reprint old books.

¹ Ch'ang-an (Si-an Fu). The founder, Liu Pang, did not consider himself worthy enough to make the Chou dynasty's metropolis Loh-yang his capital in 203 B.C.

² Ch'ang-an once more.

PART III

CONFUCIANISM. ITS DEVELOPMENT ALSO OUT
OF THE OLD SPIRITUAL LIFE

CHAPTER I¹

LAOCIUS AND CONFUCIUS AS RIVAL MORALISTS

THERE is much that is very naïve and human in Chinese history, and the more we venture beyond the mere fringe of its vast bulk hitherto accessible to European students, the more it begins to dawn upon the explorers that Chinese aspirations and revolutions 2500 years ago were remarkably like those which stir our own passions in present times. Two thousand years before the French Revolution, almost to a day, the Chinese had their great upheaval, their contest between nascent liberalism and the inert conservative past: from a political point of view the struggle ended, after a liberal innings, in a perennial triumph for bureaucracy, and China has remained bureaucratic, and consequently unprogressive, until our own day, when we once more see her bestirring herself.

There is no record of any great politico-religious struggles during the patriarchal and semi-mythical periods of Chinese history; but from the fragmentary records or sermons that survive, there is no reason for doubting that a civilization, as respectable as those contemporaneously at work in the Nile and Euphrates valleys, was steadily advancing between 3000 and 1000 B.C. in the valley of "the River," which, emerging from the mountains and the unknown deserts of the West beyond them, cut through the rich loess plains, and entered that part of the Yellow Sea now called the Gulf of Pechili, at ever-shifting points between the modern treaty-port of Tientsin and the north-western parts of the Shan Tung province of our maps. We must first accustom ourselves to this amended and circumscribed view. China, as we now know it, must first be bisected from north to south, and then from east to west; it was only in the north-east of the four quarters thus appor-

2800-
800 B.C.
roughly.¹

The Hoang
Ho, or Yel-
low River.

¹ As this chapter was originally printed with side-notes for a special purpose, they are now left unchanged.

tioned that the ancient *tao*, or "road (of civilization)" had vogue and was developed. The sea coasts, Corea, Japan, South China, West China, Tibet, and Tartary were almost totally unknown, except, in a limited measure, to the traders of each frontier vassal state coterminous with the barbarian; and, during 2000 years or more, the industrious cultivators and weavers of the "Central Plain" were gradually throwing out colonies like tentacles, always advancing under the protection of their patriarchal and feudal rule, irresistibly absorbing into their administrative system the various cognate tribes as they rolled outwards fanlike towards the sea, towards the desert, and towards the Yangtze valley and the great lakes.

It is only in the middle of the ninth century B.C. that vague sermons and denunciations yield to practical business, that dates and facts become at all definite; and by that time the Imperial power had already lost much of its virtue; in other words, the old machinery was effete for the purposes of extended activities, the vassal states were beginning to assume independent airs, and the situation somewhat resembled that of the decadent Roman empire when ambitious Cæsars, barbarian or civilized, arrogated power in the provinces, or flouted the authority of the nominal Augustus at Rome and Ravenna.

Amongst the first of the vassal states to achieve conscious greatness was that which roughly corresponds to what we often call the "German sphere" in the Shan Tung province of to-day: owing to the founder of this vassal line of princes having been commissioned by the *rex*, or emperor, to govern according to the principles of *tao* (1100 B.C.), this prince is sometimes ranked by Chinese literary men amongst the earliest apostles of *Taoism*: some of his writings were still extant almost at the beginning of the Christian era, and possibly even now there may be a few fragments still left to us, floundering in a sea of commentators' glosses and disputes. Be that as it may, in the year 685 B.C., after a steady succession of fifteen rulers—in all but two cases sons of their predecessors—a very distinguished prince came to the throne, just at the moment, too, when a strong hand was urgently needed in China in order to protect the Imperial throne from the early Turks and from encroachments of ambitious vassals. He

The Vassal
State of Ts'i
(still the
literary
name of
Shan Tung).

Lü Shang, or
T'ai Kung.

Duke Hwan
of Ts'i.

had the good fortune and the good sense to take into his service a quondam enemy possessing great administrative talents, and under the latter's brilliant statesmanship the prince became the first of the so-called "tyrants" of China, that is to say, the temporary *de facto* emperors, recognized as such by the other "great powers," even including in a certain measure the *de jure* emperor, and making it their business to preserve the balance of power between the Imperial domain and the feudatory domains. The capital of this powerful state bears the same name now that it did 2700 years ago; that is to say, Lin-tsz, as marked upon any map; it was then one of the great marts of China, and about the only one which was not situated on or near "the River," *i. e.* the Hoang-ho, or "Yellow River": the most northerly of these great fairs was at Choh [-chou], near modern Peking, then also known by the same name as it is now. The brilliant statesman who thus succeeded in securing for his princely master a distinguished pre-eminence in politics is one of the best authenticated careers in Chinese history. His policy was to avoid frightening the smaller feudal states, or driving the larger ones to increase their armaments by a show of military power; but to foster trade, fisheries, and the salt industry; to establish bagnios in his gay capital, where the merchants of other states might leave the money they had just received in exchange for their goods imported; and to develop military strength in secret with these resources. This statesman was also a philosopher of the first rank, and a considerable portion of his writings has come down to us *en bloc*, besides being quoted from century to century by scores of other writers. By some he also is classed amongst the earliest *Taoists*; but, as in the instance already cited, it must be borne in mind that the "*tao* family," as the Chinese were then beginning to call them, were still harping upon the old *tao* (road) and *têh* (virtue) of the ancient literature and kingly ideals, and had not yet developed into the quietism of Laocius, coupled with the liberal and democratic development of *tao-têh*.

Hiung-nu,
Huns, Scythians,
(later)
Turks.

Kwan
Chung, or
the Philo-
sopher
Kwan-Tsz.

Wu Pa, or
"Five
Tyrants."

The Five Tyrant Period lasted for nearly a hundred years, that is, down to 591 B.C., and meanwhile the Imperial power was becoming more and more contemptible;

its position *vis-à-vis* of the five principal vassals was akin to the position of the temporal Popes at their weakest, when the Italian duchies and republics were at their strongest. Laocius was keeper of the archives at the Imperial metropolis towards the end of the sixth century. Very little beyond the place of his birth, an account of his quietistic mysticism, and a description of his interview with Confucius is related in the chapter specially devoted to him by the official historian of 90 B.C., but there are so many quotations made from his book by that historian, so many specific allusions to his book, and so many criticisms of it, that there can be no doubt whatever of the confident belief, never once questioned in standard history, in the existence of both author and book. As to life details, no more is told of Mencius, or, indeed, of nine-tenths of the distinguished Chinese in those days; these were the very earliest ideas of biography. The story goes that Laocius, having developed—not out of his own imagination, but from a careful pondering over the old *tao* and *têh* of the classics—a new quietistic conception of how human affairs once presumably were, and ideally should be, regulated; and having collected, by correspondence and by discussion, quite a large circle of admirers round him, in the end grew so disgusted at the obsequious time-serving ways of the Confucian and Legist schools, at the contempt with which the ambitious warrior princes treated his efforts to ameliorate the condition of mankind, that he shook the dust of China from his feet and hied him, so to speak—

“To the West, to the West, to the land of the land of the free.”

Arrived at “the Pass” on the frontier, the guardian of the pass, already a sympathizer with Laocius’ doctrines, invited him to commit, before leaving China for good, the essence of his teachings to the permanency of a book, which was accordingly done, and that is the work, still existing in two parts, for many centuries known simply as “Laocius”; just as we to-day talk of buying a copy of Homer or Shakespeare. It consists of about 5000 words, and is divided into two parts, one principally treating of *tao*, or the providential road, and the other principally treating of *têh*, or the virtuous-grace resulting from a steady consideration of

Either the San Pass, or the Han-Kuh Pass, both still so called.

The Tao-Têh P’ien; afterwards Tao-king, and Têh-king; finally Tao-têh-king.

tao. It is often called Lao-tsz's *words*, as well as Lao-tsz's *book*, just as at the destruction of literature in 213 B.C. it is said, "and the *words* of the old writers were burned up." Books, it must be remembered, consisted in those days of thin strips of bamboo strung together, like a bunch of our modern tramway tickets or address labels, by means of a leather or silk thong at one end of the tablets, each tablet from eight to twenty inches long, containing one single column of fifteen to thirty characters, according to the dignity of the subject; these characters were painted upon the bamboo with a bamboo style dipped in varnish, or in the black ink used also for branding criminals; and errors were scraped off with a knife, whence the stereotyped term "clerks of the knife and style" for what we should call "scribes." Books, before the use of silk paper, paper from waste products, and ink from soots and resins had been discovered, were thus very cumbersome things, both to prepare and to carry, more especially when we reflect that the ancient hieroglyph or written character contained very many more strokes than did the abbreviated characters of 200 B.C., not to say the more modern: hence the whereabouts of each laboriously prepared book was well known to the few hundred, or at most thousand or two, of scholars who monopolized the learning of the empire. The list of *Taoists* who "received" and transmitted Lao-tsz is still on record. The reproduction of books was not only laborious, but very costly, and therefore then as now—but then much more—it was the practice to "receive" books orally from a master, and retain the passages one by one in the memory; we read of poor scholars seeking work from town to town, carrying with them as a load the one book—for few studied specially more than one out of the half-dozen or a dozen classics then in existence—they happened to affect, and humming it over, passage by passage, in their leisure hours in the hostels or on the road. The Guardian of the Pass himself wrote a short work in the sententious style of Laocius; and, like his master, in this work he adheres to the innominate style of general propositions, avoiding all mention of specific places and persons: in fact, it was a "fad" of all quietist *Taoists* to keep even themselves innominate, for which reason the very names of most of them have never been ascertained beyond their *noms de guerre*;

Kwan-yin-tsz or "Pass-keeper."

hence scepticism as to their existence at all. I possess a copy of the Guardian, but as it has come down to us it cannot be proved to be the ancient work still known to the scholars of 10 B.C. ; for, though it was mentioned as being in the Imperial libraries at that date, yet in the third century of our era the Imperial libraries were totally destroyed, and no fresh copy was forthcoming until 800 or 900 years ago.

During the Fighting States Period (480–230 B.C.) immense diplomatic, legal, and philosophical activity reigned in China—always the one single quarter-section or north-east portions as above delineated. Laocius, whose disappearance from China seems to have taken place about 500 B.C., and Confucius,

722–481
B.C.

whose history of his native state during the most of the Hegemony period and down to the beginning of the Fighting States Period has come down to us, was dead too, having experienced much the same political disappointment as

The State
of Lu.

State of Ts'i
(already
described).

had Laocius. Confucius' native state, like the highly literary and commercial state first described, was also contained within the bounds of the present Shan Tung province, of which it occupied the southern and western portions. He was an official and a pedagogue, and, like most of the learned men of his period, from time to time went upon travelling excursions into the loosely confederated states of the Yellow River valley, with a view to counteracting, so far as he could, the ambitious and restless tendencies of the times. The learned of old China were in this respect like the instructed monks of ancient Europe endeavouring to calm the ambitions of the Saxons, Normans, and Goths. Like Laocius, Confucius had sought inspiration from the unadulterated ancient literature available to both ; that is,

The Li, or
Li-king.

The Yih, or
Yih-king.

The Shu, or
Shu-king.

The Shī, or
Shī-king.

from the Rites of the then reigning Imperial dynasty, which had ruled and had nominally governed ever since 1122 B.C. ; the ancient political Cosmogony, known as the *Book of Changes*, a still more ancient work remodelled and amplified by the founder of that same dynasty ; the laconic annals of the patriarchal period ending with the year 721 B.C. ; the popular songs of China, in which the people of the various states expressed their political and social emotions.

There were also other works of which we now know very

little except the names. The great difference between the two masters was this: Laocius, being a recluse living at Imperial head-quarters, and taking no share in legislation or executive functions, believed that he saw clearly from the mass of archives, which lay at his almost exclusive daily command, the utter hopelessness of expecting anything good from military ambition, commercial greed, and empty majesty, at least so far as the happiness of mankind was concerned; and, of course for him, "mankind" meant China. He argued that each human life was of equal value, and was limited by the natural capacity inherent in it; therefore, that no amount of solid possessions or empty rank could exclude from each possessing individual more than the one single natural evil of poverty. Hence, full bellies and minds empty of care were the ideal condition. He sighed for the good old times, when each petty feudal state lived obscurely and contentedly in the enjoyment of home-rule, simple plenty, and honest ignorance of what its neighbours were about. After all, said he, "learning" is only what imperfect men once like ourselves, but now rotting in their graves, have said; their lives, like ours, were made up of eating, breeding, sleeping, and social enjoyment; no king can have more. The so-called "virtues" of charity and justice have no natural existence except where the defects of government have produced poverty and a sense of wrong. What is any man that he should presume to dole out charity and justice to his equal? A ruler is a necessary evil, a mere magnified version of that ruler's sub-agent or *employé*, the general or the executioner. Both the ruler and the official are servants of the public, and are as indispensable to the social machine as the blacksmith, the scavenger, or the cook. Rank, greatness, generalship, learning—these, if conferred by the devolution of circumstances, should, so far from puffing themselves up, try to obscure themselves; the mere fact of their showing humility and self-effacement would ensure them possession of their tacitly conferred rights. The general should, whilst doing his duty thoroughly and despising his own life, feel a human tenderness for other lives, and a regret for the slaughter rendered unavoidable by circumstances, rather than gloat over victory or seek "glory"; the ordinary man should in the same way shrink from assisting that indispensable evil

the executioner ; the ruler should attract as little attention and raise as little discussion as possible, keeping the secrets of his unhappy craft to himself. Laws should be as few but as clear as possible. *Populi*, not *regis, voluntas lex suprema* ; it is the king's duty to "eat dirt for all," as well as exercise power for all. In other words, Laocius was a socialist and a democrat, but of the most unselfish kind ; obscure, perhaps, but free from all cant and humbug.

On the other hand, Confucius had risen gradually from one official post to the other ; his own state, through all the ambitious Five Tyrant turmoil, had preserved its dignity and its literary pre-eminence ; its rulers were direct descendants from the old Imperial stock ; the first indispensable necessity in all states was, in his opinion, to preserve order. Diplomacy must be backed by battalions. There could be no order without subordination. Rulers were the vicegerents of heaven, that is, of an abstraction popularly intelligible to all, the quasi-human, or the ghostly attributes of which, however, he, being ignorant thereof, declined to discuss or define. A man might be a good ruler, but a frail human being ; in his capacity of ruler, whether supreme ruler or vassal, his faults should not be exposed in public derogation of his office. A bad hat belongs any way to the head ; and a shoe, however good, is only fit for the feet. Learning and study conferred the right to advise ; the ignorant masses had but to recognize their superiors and obey : but on the other hand the way to become such a superior was open to any inferior man who chose to study *tao* and *li*.
Li, or "form." Forms or ceremonies were indispensable in order to maintain the dignity of rulers on the one hand, and mutual respect amongst acquaintances on the other. Laws should not be published, but should be given in the form of specific decisions as disputes occurred, in order to prevent the growth amongst the ignorant of calculating litigiousness. In short, Confucius was a courtier and a conservative ; at the same time he was a just, unselfish, and benevolent man.

It will be seen that neither Laocius nor Confucius was concerned in the least about a supposed future life. They were both moral and political philosophers, and neither travelled one inch beyond human life. Both preached the ancient *tao* and *têh* ; but, whilst Confucius considered providence and grace,

as displayed with *li* or "due form," to be the almost lost science and art of government which had once flourished in perfection, Laocius gave quite a new practical meaning to those words: he endeavoured, with perhaps unavoidable obscurity of language, to instil new life into them, and to identify the providential road or science of government on the one hand with the universal law of nature—of which he knew about as much, or as little, as we do now—and the successful practice of government on the other hand with the virtue or grace built up in the mind after a conscientious attempt to rule one's self and others on the providential principle. Having once grasped the all-pervading but undefinable principle, no further learning, no further "forms" or rules—least of all charity and justice—were necessary.

Tao, providence;
Têh, grace;
Li, form.

Tao engenders Têh.

Now, immediately after Confucius' death, the sharpening of men's wits, caused by the long wars, the rise of commerce, the growth of wealth, and the active diplomatic intercourse engendered by movement between state and state, stimulated the rise of competing philosophical schools. Men did not philosophize in order to kill time, but in order to secure a bellyful of good things for themselves and their friends. Even during Confucius' lifetime, his personal friend, the premier of one small vassal state, to Confucius' genuine horror, had published upon bronze plates a series of laws for public information, on the ground (when Confucius and others remonstrated) that the immediate object of preserving order in his own State was more important to the people of that state than any imaginary or conventional injury to posterity. Meanwhile, the two literary states forming modern Shan Tung had never for one instant lost their literary pre-eminence; but they were now not alone: the fourth century B.C. opened with an unusually brilliant assemblage of learned men who formed a sort of literary court at a newly promoted and entirely reconstituted feudal state lying to the west of the two Shan Tung states referred to, and having its capital first in southern Shan Si, but after 340 B.C. across the river at the modern K'ai-fêng Fu on the Yellow River. One of the first scholars to arrive at the rising court

Tsz-Ch'an's laws in Chêng State.

States of Ts'i and Lu.

The State of Wei, afterwards called Liang (from its new capital).

was a prominent pupil of Confucius; he had indeed instructed the young ruler in the classics and the liberal arts during the period anterior to that ruler's accession in 424, or at least anterior to his promotion to the rank of first-class vassal in 404. As this pupil was twenty-eight years of age when Confucius died in 479 B.C., and as he was forty-four years younger than Confucius, who reached the age of seventy-two, it seems scarcely likely—although he is known to have attained a great age—that he can ever have visited the new capital. One of the *Taoist* writers, a pupil of Laocius himself, also studied under him; as is usual with the quietist school, he is not known except by his *nom de guerre* of Wên-tsz. Another distinguished scholar at this court was the great lawyer whose code is at the basis of the Chinese legal system as it still exists: he is also celebrated for having devised a system of land taxation not unlike that recommended to the Chinese Government six years ago (1904) by Sir Robert Hart. A third philosopher, likewise also a jurist of distinction, lived at this court a century later; he narrowly escaped being selected by posterity instead of Confucius as the model of a perfect sage; he is chiefly celebrated for having taken the view—in opposition to the Confucianists—that human nature is evil at bottom, and his works are of undoubted authenticity; his eleventh chapter contains what Dr. Faber calls a critique on Lao-tsz, and what he considers proof that Lao-tsz originated the quietist system. Under the son and grandson of this illustrious vassal prince and his descendants, several parts of the Great Wall of China were constructed; the grandson is celebrated in history for his conversations with the peripatetic Confucian philosopher Mencius, the chief defender of the good side of human nature. With Mencius at the king's court was a *Taoist* philosopher, whose book on Laocius was still extant in 10 B.C.; there was also a cosmogonist, whose writings had a great effect upon the mind of the future Napoleon of China. These, and quite a number of other students of Laocius' quietism, all paid visits as well to the more easterly court, where every possible arrangement for their entertainment and

Pub Shang,
alias
Tsz-hia.

Marquess
Wên of Wei,
or Ngwei.

The laws of
Li Kwei.

The legist
and critical
Confucian-
ist, Sün
K'wang, or
Sün-tsz.

King Hwei
of Liang.

Tsieh Yü, or
Tsieh-tsz.

Tsou Yen, or
Tsou-tsz.

Court of Ts'ü.

comfort was made, and where, under the collective name of the *lich-ta-fu*, or "body of statesmen," they more or less permanently settled as honoured guests of the king—for so the rulers of this more easterly state also had now begun to style themselves. This point is important, for *lich-tsz* would mean "body of philosophers" in the same way; and it is just possible that the views of the supposed fourth century *Taoist* philosopher *Lieh-tsz*, or *Licius*, which are in parts open to suspicion, may really refer to those *Taoist* philosophers as a body.

Whilst China proper had thus been for centuries exhausting herself in internecine wars, and had been gradually drowning her simple, ancient philosophy in a whirlpool of Laocianists, Confucianists, legists, socialists, diplomatists, purists, and other competing schools, a semi-Chinese state, in the extreme west,—as the west was then known,—having long lived a political life of its own, but subject to considerable Tartar influence, like an ancient Russia in regard to Europe, had been quietly developing a land system, a military power, and an economical law-code on a non-Confucian basis, under the guidance of a statesman who had carried thither and at once put into effect the principles recommended by the distinguished legal economist just mentioned. The rulers of this rising state—corresponding to the modern Shen Si province—absolutely rejected all Confucian doctrines, and deliberately adopted as their political principles the "strenuous life" theory of intensiveness coupled with main force, with the ultimate aim of crushing the Fighting States one by one, and establishing a new and highly centralized homogeneous empire; the nearest modern parallel is the transformation of sleepy and quarrelsome Germany under the "iron fist" of Prussia (who may in her turn succeed in extending her scope beyond present limits). After about a century of fighting and intrigue this object was at last achieved; weights and measures, cart-wheel tracks, written character, etc., etc., were unified and assimilated so far as possible for the whole empire, which was now extended by undisguised wars of conquest so as to take in loosely the greater part of the Yangtze valley, and even most of South China to

Shên Puh-hai, the Chinese Draco, died 337 B.C., was Laocian Premier of Han State.

Wei Yang, died 338, B.C. after organizing Ts'in State after Li K'wei's model.

the Sea, and West China towards India and Tibet. It was whilst sacrificing to the Holy Mountain of antiquity, in celebration of these conquests, that this first Emperor, whose moral ideas—so far as he had any—were almost purely Laocian, first took umbrage at the interference on the spot of seventy Confucian scholars, who had presumed to lay down the law as to what the precedents of hoary antiquity required. The irritation produced in the mind of the revolutionary monarch by this incessant and annoying appeal to antiquity ended by inoculating him with a furious antipathy towards Confucianism and everything connected with it. He resolved, under his chancellor's advice, to have done with the ancient Annals, the Rites, the Odes, and Confucius' book of history; to entrap and destroy all the learned men of the empire he could decoy to his capital; to burn the local annals of all the old vassal states except his own; to call in all political books, limiting their use to the learned official classes; and in short, to make *tabula rasa* of all preaching antiquity and inconvenient precedents, beginning civilization afresh with a series of innominate and numbered emperors instead of the ancient *reges*; to start off with a new calendar and year; to organize a system of prefectures and city jurisdictions, instead of tolerating any more vassal kingdoms and duchies; and to constitute a democratic equality of all under one supreme Tyrannus. A distinguished *Taoist* philosopher, whose works we still possess, and who both quotes Lao-tsz and mentions his book, would have been premier too had not the jealous chancellor given him poison.

T'ai Moun-
tain in Shan
Tung.

Ts'in Shī-
Hwang, or
"First Im-
perator" of
and from
Ts'in State;
illegitimate
son of a
Taoist
writer.

Chancellor
Li Sz, died
208 B.C.,
pupil of Sün-
Tsz.

Han Fei,
poisoned by
Li Sz,
233 B.C.

Our object here is to show the absolutely unbroken lineage of the pure *Taoism* of Laocius, and there will consequently be no space to enter into the extremely interesting personal details of this lively epoch. Suffice it to say that the First Emperor's own life was too short, his son and successor was too incapable, and popular discontent with all these sudden changes was too general to secure permanency for his drastic system—at least in the hands of his own family; but none the less, his system is the bottom rock of the system that has endured to our day.

After several years of bloodthirsty warfare between competing military adventurers, the best man came to the top, the rivals were all destroyed, and a new dynasty—the celebrated Han house—was at last securely installed upon the Imperial throne. The leading feature in the character of the new Emperor was his utter and almost fanatical contempt for Confucianists and their ceremonious ways. He was a *viveur* and a soldier pure and simple.

Liu Pang,
Prince of the
Han Princi-
pality,
actually
crowned
202 B.C.

“On horseback I have gained the empire,” said he, “and not by listening to you stupid and conceited *literati*.” “Yes, your majesty,” replied an able Confucianist who had found credit with the monarch on other grounds, “you have *won* the empire on horseback, but can you *keep* it on horseback?”

Luh Kia.

To cut the story short, though the coarse-minded Emperor continued for some years to knock off and use for an unspeakable purpose every Confucianist's hat that was worn in his presence, he at last consented to wear long clothes, to establish a ceremonial court, and, in a word, to become civilized. But most of the men who assisted him in establishing the Han dynasty are recorded to have studied the works of Laocius, and in several cases to have obtained their instruction generation by generation from the unbroken line of quietist apostles, right up to Laocius himself.

T'ien Shuh,
Ts'ao Ts'an,
Chih Puh-i,
Chang Liang,
Ch'ên P'ing,
Kih Yen,
Ch'eng
Tang-Shih,
Yoh I, Yen
Chu—all
these are
officially
stated to
have studied
Laocius'
Taoism

It must be remembered, therefore, that for nearly a century after the burning of the books in 213 B.C., Confucianism was utterly discredited by the ruling powers, and that the study of its texts had almost utterly disappeared throughout the length and breadth of China, except in the one far-eastern region of Shan Tung, where a small knot of faithful scholars, and especially Confucius' own descendants, kept up the old literary traditions. The First Emperor is distinctly, officially, and repeatedly stated *not* to have burnt the old classical *Book of Changes*, on the ground that it was a work of divination; for, under his destructive decree, works on divination, agriculture, and medicine fell under the category of exempted books; even the hated Confucian classics were allowed to licensed literates at Court. Being himself under powerful *Taoist* influences, and a friend of one of the leading *Taoist*

apostles, the First Emperor would naturally also exempt the *Taoist* book of 5000 words that fleeing Laocius had left behind in China, the more so in that a part of it was largely based upon the political cosmogony of the *Book of Changes*. Nothing at all, however, is said by any one, at any date, of either the destruction or the subsequent unearthing of hidden copies of the *Taoist* classic. On the other hand, "studying the doctrines of Laocius" is continuously spoken of without a break; and, as we have seen, quite a large number of statesmen and generals who assisted the Prince of Han to the throne are officially stated by the historians to have been *Taoists* of the quietest school and diligent students of the Laocian principles. There is no trace of *Taoism* or respect for Laocius in any of the biographies of the Han founder himself, except that, on his accession, he simplified the aggravating and complicated criminal law in the sense indicated by Laocius. During the reign of his son (by the Empress) and, after that son's death, of the Dowager herself, all the statesmen in power were rough military men; it is noteworthy, however, that the Imperial chancellor who conducted affairs during that son's reign was not only a *Taoist*, but conducted his affairs strictly on Laocian quietist principles; he even sent to the Shan Tung country for one of the *Taoist* apostles, who was duly introduced to Court. Right down to the times of Genghis Khan (A.D. 1200), who sent all the way from Samarcand to Shan Tung for a *Taoist* sage, that corner of China has been Laocian in its moral character.

Ts'ao Ts'an,
died 190 B.C.

The founder's second son (by a concubine) now ascended the throne: not only is he—the Marcus Aurelius of China—stated to have been under the influence of *Taoist* and legist doctrines, but it is repeatedly stated in the most positive, explicit, and unmistakable words that his wife was an ardent *Taoist*, and also an active enemy of the Confucianists. The Emperor himself, though no Confucianist, was sufficiently liberal-minded to listen to Confucian advice, and he would even have consented, at the recommendation of a Confucianist, to a complete system of Confucian ancestral ceremonial being introduced (his father had left his work unfinished) had it not been for the uncompromising opposition of his wife.

Wên Ti,
died 157 B.C.

Empress
Tou.

The Confucianist
Kia I.

After this noble Emperor's death, his son ruled with sound sense ; but according to unshakable, ancient Chinese principle (still ruling at Peking, as we see at this very day) in strict subordination to the wishes of his mother so long as she lived. We are informed that he and all the members of his mother's family occupying official posts were, out of respect for her sentiments so much in favour of Laocius, obliged to study the works of that philosopher. We are also informed several times over in two different histories, and also several times in quite different connections of each same history, that the Empress-Dowager possessed at least one copy of Laocius' original book ; that she sent for a certain Confucian officer in order to consult him about this book ; and that he spoke to her of it in such contemptuous terms as "only good enough for a retainer" that she "ordered him to go and stick pigs in the corral," and expressed a "wish that I had a penal servitude law book to tackle you with for your pains." As the young Emperor secretly sympathized with the straightforwardness of the unfortunate Confucianist, his majesty surreptitiously supplied him with a sharp spear, so that, to the Dowager's chagrin, he succeeded in killing the pig and saving his own life. These quaint and rather inexplicable details, which appear to point to wild boar kept within the palace enclosure in readiness for the hunt, trivial though they may seem, point by their very detail to a true story. The "penal servitude" refers to forced labour at building the Great Wall, and keeping it in repair. But there is more ; the same Confucianist had had an argument in the Emperor's presence with a *Taoist* about whether a good man was authorized in deposing a bad emperor : "Well," said one of the disputants, "if the ancient founders of the second and third hereditary dynasties were not justified in ejecting their evil *de jure* rulers as Confucius approves, then, by the same reasoning, the present Han dynasty was not justified in ejecting the First Emperor's son?" The reply of the Emperor to this dangerous blow at the Confucianist doctrine well illustrates the manner of the times : "Come, come, gentlemen, a man does not avoid eating horse's liver because he does not know what the taste of good meat is like, nor is a *literator* necessarily a fool because he

King Ti,
died 141 B.C.

The
Dowager
Tou.

The Con-
fucian Yüan
Ku.

Argument of
the *Taoist*
Hwang
Shêng.

avoids the delicate question of dynastic change in my presence. Enough of this talk!"

The cousin of the above Emperor, then reigning as vassal prince in the valley of the Hwai River, between the Yellow River and the Yangtsze, was a great collector of books. He had at his court a thousand or more of philosophers, alchemists, specialists, doctors, and so on, with whose assistance he composed and published a great *Taoist* and cosmogonist work, which we still possess intact, and which quotes and illustrates, by parallels drawn mostly from Fighting States history, nearly a hundred passages, all commencing with the words, "hence Laocius said"; "Laocius" up to this date meaning the book of Laocius as well as the individual Lao Tan. Vainancius alludes to him in one passage as Lao-tan (the posthumous name given to Laocius on account of his drooping ears) when he particularly wishes to speak of the individual. Vainancius is, of course, only the latinized form of Hwai-nan, or "Southern Hwai (Valley)."

One of the sons of the same witty Emperor who made the caustic observations about horse-liver (supposed to be a very dangerous food to eat in summer), was even a more successful collector of books than his uncle or senior cousin Vainancius; he also was a vassal prince, and his fief was in that part of modern Chih Li province still known by the then title of Ho-kien; the modern city of Hien, where the Ho-kien Jesuits have their head-quarters now, is written exactly as the prince's name was written 2000 years ago; it is distinctly stated that his collection of books and ancient authors was even more discriminating than that of Vainancius, that it vied with the collection at the Emperor's Court, and that it included copies of Laocius and Mencius in the ancient character, that is, in the character written in the (then already obsolete) script which had been in use before the destruction of literature in 213 B.C. In 150 B.C. a descendant of Confucius had discovered hidden inside a wall of the Sage's house other classical books written in the same obsolete character, and had succeeded in deciphering the old system. It is not surprising, therefore, to find among the books officially recorded as having been at the Imperial Court (and apart from those at the vassal

Liu Ngan,
Prince of
Hwai Nan,
alias the
Legist-
Taoist
Philosopher
Vainancius.

Li Erh, Lao
Tan, Lao
Kün, all
names or
soubriquets
of the one
man.

Prince Hien
Ho-kien.

courts) in 10 B.C. three copies of Laocius, one already characterized as a *king*, or "recognized standard work," besides a copy of Laocius' pupil's work (stated, however, to be not original thought, but probably a mere understudy of Laocius). There were also copies of the works of at least two of the Laocian writers who were with Mencius in the fourth century at the two vassal courts above alluded to. Finally, in A.D. 281, the celebrated "bamboo annals" were unearthed from a tomb where they had been hidden ever since 299 B.C. These important ancient writings in varnish not only give the history of the identical vassal state where Mencius and the old *Taoists* were entertained, but enable us to ascertain for certain what liberties with dates and calendars had since been taken by the Confucian mutilators.

During the reign of the fifth Han Emperor, great-grandson of the founder, practically the whole of China and its dependencies as now known to us was discovered and settled by the Chinese, including the Pamirs, Turkestan, the fringe only of Tibet, Corea, Japan (visited but not settled), Annam, Yün Nan, Mongolia, Manchuria, etc., etc. (these two last visited and partly overrun, but scarcely settled). The Laocian philosopher Vainancius was during this reign betrayed into ambitious indiscretions (owing to the Emperor's heir having been judicially murdered), and, like his father before him, had committed suicide. The Laocian influence of the third Emperor's widow continued for six years beyond the date of her son the fourth Emperor's death; she even caused two Confucianists, who once more tried to re-establish the full ceremonial and ancestral system, to commit suicide, as is related in at least ten different places in two standard histories: but although her superstitious grandson was inclined to believe in alchemy and charlatanry, even to make a sort of god of Laocius, he ended by adopting Confucianism in preference to *Taoism*, which by this time, thanks to the numerous philosophical quacks at Court, had been somewhat discredited. This change was originally owing to the encroachment under the writers following Laocius, and still more under the

Laocius' pupil Wên-tsz, who had studied under Confucius' pupil Tsz-hia.

History of the State of Wei, later Liang, and of the State Tsin (Shan Si) out of which it had been carved previous to independent status.

Li T'ai-tsz, heir to Wu Ti.

Dowager Tou and her son King Ti.

Lieh-tsz, or Licius, fifth century B.C., and Chwang-tsz, or Sancius, fourth century B.C.

later *Taoist* writers, of hocus-pocus and spiritual mysticism upon the comparatively simple quietistic principles of Laocius himself.

There is not a single statement of fact in the above sketch that is not taken either from the first serious and independent official history of China, covering the whole period of antiquity (so far as known) down to 100 B.C., and published in 90 B.C. ; or from the second history covering the period 240 B.C. to A.D. 25, and published about A.D. 90. The courage and the truthfulness of the earlier author, who criticizes and quotes Laocius and his book repeatedly, may be gathered from the circumstances that it was found advisable by the Court to suppress the original chapters treating of the fourth and fifth Emperors, and that the author suffered the cruel punishment of castration at the hands of the fifth Emperor ; nominally, because he had recommended and defended a certain general who was defeated by and went over to the Early Turks ; but in reality because he criticized too freely the fifth Emperor's credulity. These missing chapters, and eight other missing chapters, were supplied at about the date of putting the history together by another hand ; but as not one of these inferior ten chapters says anything of Laocius, the true history of *Taoism* in no way suffers or falls under suspicion. Confucianist critics have not a word to say against the good faith of this distinguished author, or against the trustworthiness of his father before him, who really did most of the fact-collecting work ; and their testimony is all the more valuable in that they criticize somewhat severely the father's manifest preference for Laocian over Confucian principles. The said father had studied the works of Laocius under the identical *Taoist* who argued with the fierce Confucian before the fourth Emperor, and we are given a fairly complete list of the hands, anterior to that, through which the great work of Laocius passed generation by generation, and also of the hands through which the *Book of Changes* had passed up to the time of the accession of the Han dynasty. The father even pandered a little to the Emperor's credulity, and, in the end, died of grief because he was not allowed to assist at the Confucian worship of the Holy Mountain after the *Taoist* Dowager's death. To

Sz-ma Ts'ien,
joint author
with his
father, Sz-ma
T'an of the
Shi-ki, or
"Record of
History."

Li Ling,
General.

Hwang
Shêng.

prove the enormous strength of Laocius' doctrine up to this date, I may mention that one *Taoist* statesman actually insisted on being buried naked and without coffin, in order that his elements might return to "Mother Earth" in accordance with the principles of Laocius' cosmogony.

Taoist
Fanatic
Yang Wang-
sun, 130 B.C.

I am quite aware that there are repetitions in this paper, the immediate object of which, however, is to suggest, and to insist, that Laocius is a historical personage; that he must have left sporadic writings before he wrote a concise book; that his book as we still have it is as nearly as possible what it originally was; that it merely sums up what every one knew to be his views; and that it also is an unmistakable historical fact; that neither the *Book of Changes*, nor Laocius' final book, which was largely based upon it and upon Kwan-tsz, was ever lost; and that if copies of it were hidden, to be subsequently rediscovered, it was on the same ground that other innocent books, also not on the condemned list, were hidden and rediscovered, as we know they were, *i. e.* owing to general timidity and nervous doubt as to what the tyrant really had condemned as mischievous. This is the view taken, of course, by the veteran sinologists Dr. Legge, Dr. Faber, and Dr. Chalmers: their views are on record, and there is no reason whatever to believe, nor has any trustworthy evidence ever been cited to show, that any one of the three ever in the least modified his views before he died.

One very distinguished living sinologist, perhaps the only one who is thoroughly conversant at first hand with the *historical* Chinese originals, and certainly the only one who scrupulously produces the full evidence on both sides without picking and choosing—I allude to Professor Edouard Chavannes, of Paris—has gone to great pains in order to prove that the very un-Laocian allusions to Lao-tan's words in the *Book of Rites* are superfetations made by the over-zealous *Taoists* of about A.D. 1 in order to bring their hero into the respectable company of Confucius. But all this learning,—which, however, discloses no defect in acumen, and is of itself faultless,—is unnecessary in view of the distinct statement made by the best Chinese critics in the best editions that the said four allusions made according to the *Book of Rites* by Confucius and his pupil

Cincius to Lao-tan “do not refer at all to Lao-tan the author of the 5000-word book, but mean simply ‘old persons (have told me).’” Besides, if over-zealous *Taoists* had tampered with Confucian books at a time when Confucianism had ousted *Taoism*, the Confucianists would certainly have set such a fraud in its proper light. There is no evidence that *Taoists* did so. It is well known, and it is repeatedly stated—with examples given—in the double standard histories just referred to, that Confucius—and of course Mencius and all the leading Confucianists—carefully pruned all the works they published, edited, corrected, or compiled, in such a way as to exclude not only all direct allusion to the dreaded democrat Laocius, but also all indirect, and even the remotest, inferential allusion to any well-known *Taoist* expressions that might clash with the Confucian theory of divine right, royal prerogative, and caste privilege. Each party hated the other like poison; but it was political hate; no religious intolerance has ever existed in China, where the fuss we Westerns make about our precious skins or souls in a purely imaginary futurity is regarded as a sort of *graciosa locura*. Professor Chavannes, in his masterly translation of the castrated historian’s great work, has already himself once alluded to the *Taoist* Empress-Dowager’s struggle with the Confucianists in 139 B.C.; it so happens that the five volumes of 2000 pages already published by him only allude this once to Laocius until we arrive at the chapter on Confucius quite recently published; and by a singular coincidence Professor Chavannes happens to have omitted that single allusion to Laocius from his otherwise almost perfect indexes, and has thus forgotten that a copy of Laocius existed in 139 B.C. But, as he goes on with his admirable work, he will discover and give to the world the important proofs indicated above, and will see that it is quite impossible to sustain the theory,—rashly and passionately advanced by some sinologists much less competent and trustworthy than himself, and partly accepted by himself when a student only just commencing his illustrious career at Peking,—that the classic of Laocius was deliberately made up by forgeries in A.D. I from the works of Chwang-tsz, Vainancius, Han Fei-tsz, and other *Taoist* authors of the third, second, and first

The Li-ki of Confucius’ disciples, as distinct from the Li, or Li-king, the rites as known to Confucius himself.

centuries B.C. Besides, Vainancius and Han Fei-tsz are officially classed as "Eclectic" and "Penal"; *not* as *Taoist* at all, although they treat of *Taoism* too.

Up to a thousand years after Laocius' death there is only one single possible case in Chinese history of a competent native classical scholar expressing a doubt whether Laocius' work was really written by himself, and even this case is only a possible one, not a certain one. This author was Ts'ui Hao, himself a critic of the Han dynasty's history, and a statesman in the employ of a Tartar emperor when China was divided. Curiously enough, this man was a disbeliever both in Buddhism and in the ancient *Taoist* philosophy, whilst at the same time he was a credulous believer in an impostor *Taoist* apostle, and in the corrupt *Taoist* charlatanry of his age. Like Laocius, he wrote a book at the request of his *Taoist* friend, but this book was to lay before that friend the full comparative history of Confucianism and *Taoism*. I myself unearthed and published this passage in the year 1885, and I said then what I am disposed to believe now, that the critic in question was not necessarily referring to the Laocian classic, but to the *Taoist* works usually lumped together as Chwang-Lao (or as one edition has it Lao-Chwang), *i. e.* to the works of the two degenerate imitators of Laocius,—Sancius and Licius,—in both of whose works there are portions which cannot possibly be historically accurate. Part of the sentence in question has been picked out to establish a contrary view, but the following important second part of the sentence has been omitted: the second part of the sentence runs in effect: "it may be truly said of such stuff, as was rightly stated by the courageous Confucianist to the Empress-Dowager in 139 B.C., that it was more suited to a retainer's satchel than to a royal court." Thus we see that, even if in A.D. 440 a Confucian critic (who Ts'ui Hao, d. 450. was also a believer in corrupt *Taoism*), whilst condemning ancient *Taoism*, really meant to assert that Laocius did not really write the specific work assigned to him, he admitted that the work to which in A.D. 440 he alluded was exactly the same work that had existed in 139 B.C.; and proved therefore, of course, that that work could not possibly have been forged in A.D. 1.

CHAPTER II

THE FAMILY OF CONFUCIUS

ON the 28th of August, 1896, the Emperor of China issued for publication a memorial addressed to his Majesty by the hereditary Duke Confucius. It appears that at the beginning of that year one of the Academicians had called attention to the necessity of improving some of the glebes attached to the ducal estate, and the high authorities of Shan Tung (the province in which the ducal palace is situated) and Kiang Su (the province in which Nanking, Shanghai, and Soochow are situated) were commanded to find the necessary funds. His grace the Duke now explained that in the year A.D. 1294 Kublai Khan, the Mongol Emperor of China, granted to the family, for sacrificial purposes, two estates, consisting respectively of 360 and 540 hectares of land, in or about lat. 35° N. and long. 117° E. These two estates are situated on the Grand Canal, or rather on a lake which the Canal skirts, and which is just on the borders of the two provinces above mentioned. Both the estates are on the south-west side of the Canal, in the township of P'ei, the cradle of the Han dynasty 2100 years ago. Up to A.D. 1289 the Canal was only navigable as far as the Yellow River, but by A.D. 1294 Kublai Khan had already continued it as far as his capital of Cambalu—the modern Peking—and very likely it was on account of this that Confucius received a share of the new topographical benefits; for it must be remembered that between the years A.D. 1034 and 1856 the Yellow River took a more southerly course than it does now, and ran east into the sea along the parallels of latitude 34 and 35; therefore the prolongation of the Canal would have the effect of bringing fresh tracts into notice, besides connecting them with the metropolis. The Duke cites as evidence of the grant the inscribed stone upon

which Kublai Khan recorded the event. The original stone has been long since carried away by the floods consequent upon the change in the Yellow River's course, but authentic copies of the inscription of course exist in the public archives. He expresses his thanks to the Emperor for directing that the 900 hectares originally granted by Kublai should be once more legally attached to the family estate ; 48 hectares were, he says, as a matter of fact recovered in 1869 ; and with regard to the balance of 852 hectares now once more secured, the rule is now established that the Duke shall send his steward once a year to the office of the circuit intendant residing at the prefectural city of Sü-chow, in the extreme north of Kiang Su province, in order to collect the rents.

In thus noticing a practical, contemporaneous, and business-like letter based on documents six hundred years old, and coming from a Chinaman with 2500 years of unbroken history at his back, I propose to give a short account of the Confucian family for the information of English readers. The patronymic—or, as we should say in English, the surname—of the clan is K'ung, or "Hole," and the philosopher (like other Chinese sages of the first rank) is usually spoken of as a *fu-tsz*, literally a diminutive of *vir*, as *homunculus* is of *homo*, but in practice an expression, with the accent or stress upon the second syllable, having much the same deferential effect as the *excelsus vir*, or other cognate terms, applied in courtesy by Latin authors to a few legal or philosophical luminaries of the highest rank, such as Papinian. In modern usage one addresses a teacher as *fu-tsz* in epistolary correspondence. Thus we get the combination K'ung-fu-tsz, which, in the latinized form given to it three hundred years ago by the early Jesuits, became Confucius ; and, in fact, sounds in Pekingese almost exactly as the last-named latinized word would be pronounced by a German. The great-grandfather of Confucius had migrated from a more southerly part of China to a place now marked in modern maps as Sz-shui, or "River-Sz," on the other or north-eastern side of the Canal, in the province of Shan Tung, some miles to the north-east of the estates above described as having been granted to the family by Kublai. Confucius' father was a military man, and died when our hero was only three years of age. The widowed mother migrated once more

to a place lower down the River Sz, called K'üh-fu or "Crooked Hill," and that city has remained (with some schismatical intermissions to be mentioned further on) the family residence until this day.

As a child, Confucius attracted attention by his precocious taste for ceremonial; for his playthings he always preferred the objects—dishes, candles, tripods, hats, etc.—which are used in formal sacrifices. He was an only son, nine daughters having been born in succession before his turn came. He married at the age of nineteen, and the following year his wife presented him with a son, of whom almost nothing is known except that he was a comparative disappointment to his father. Nor was his wife a complete success; in fact, it is even said that Confucius had to divorce her; but this statement is not well authenticated. Probably his rigid character drove her into peevishness. At that time the Imperial power of China was very weak, and the six larger of the so-called vassal states were practically independent. The condition of the country was much like that of France just before Louis XI broke the power of the semi-independent nobles; or, still more, like that of Germany under the weak emperors of Louis XIV's time. Confucius held an official position as inspector of granaries in the state of Lu, which corresponds pretty nearly to the southwestern half of the modern province of Shan Tung; in fact, that province is still called Lu in the more elegant epistolary style. He seems to have employed his leisure hours in inculcating upon the local youth his views upon things in general; and with that object in view he soon collected a "school" of young men around him, much after the manner of the Grecian and Roman philosophers, peripatetic or sedentary. He himself did not compose any sustained didactic work; it is through his disciples, and especially his grandson, that his moral views have been transmitted to posterity. He was, however, a great student of history, and seems to have ransacked all available records in order to draw therefrom sound principles of good government. He was the apostle of autocracy and propriety, and disliked excess of any kind.

When he was at the height of his pedagogical and political fame, he visited the Emperor's capital—the modern Ho-nan *Fu*—with the object of studying the archives collected there;

and on his return to his own country he felt it a duty to follow into exile his ducal master, who was driven from home by civil wars and died in a neighbouring state. Returning once more, he was gradually advanced by the succeeding Grand Duke to the office of Lord Chancellor. The Grand Duke seems to have at last grown rather tired of his strait-laced counsellor, who, therefore, at the age of fifty-seven, left him in disgust, and went wandering about from court to court as a sort of peripatetic philosopher, declaiming against vice, avarice, idleness, sensual indulgence, dancing-girls, and other abominations. To use the popular English phraseology, he received from the restive dukes and princes he took in hand as many kicks as he did halfpence for his gratuitous advice; but he consoled himself for his disappointments by rearranging the records he had so carefully gathered, and prepared the new basis of the works now known as the "Classics" of China. He also composed his only original work, being a history of his native state between the years 722 and 481 B.C., the closing date of his literary labour. The main object of this history was to plead for the advantages of an imperial system in preference to petty state rivalries. He had returned at the age of sixty-eight to his native country once more, and died five years later, in 479 B.C. As Mr. T. Watters says in his *Guide to the Temple of Confucius*: "One of his last-recorded utterances is a lament over the failure of his teachings. The rulers of the time did not appreciate him, and would not adopt his theories or follow his counsels. Among the people also the Sage had not much influence, and his death was not followed by any popular manifestation of sorrow." The Grand Duke, however, professed a certain amount of hypocritical grief, dedicated to him a temple, and instituted quarterly sacrifices to his memory; these sacrifices were continued until the great upheaval of 221 B.C., when all China was forcibly united under one sceptre by the ambitious "First Emperor," usually known to Western history as the builder of the Great Wall. Mr. Watters goes on to say: "Many years had to pass before the fulness of time came for the spread of his teachings, and their perfect influence on all the ways of individual, public, and social life in China." As Mr. W. F. Mayers also points out: "It was not until nearly 300 years after his decease, when the feudal system was

on the point of disappearing, and a general reform in the principles of government was introduced, that recognition was accorded to his memory by Imperial command."

Dr. Joseph Edkins, whose opinion upon this matter is also entitled to respect, says: "Confucius became the acknowledged chief sage of China almost immediately after his death. . . . His biography is found amongst those of royal families, and not along with the lives of scholars and sages. . . . He was contemporary with Thales and Pythagoras, but he differed greatly from them in the practical character of his philosophy and in his abstinence from speculation. He was great as a moralist, and therefore he is rather to be compared with Socrates . . . : yet they differed . . . ; Confucius was the stern censor; Socrates the acute reasoner and master of irony. Confucius refused to discourse on the future state; Socrates loved to meditate upon death and the after-condition of the soul. Confucius laid down rules for the government of self, of the family, and of the state; Socrates was rather the inquirer after knowledge, and the lover of virtue for its own sake. . . . Confucius followed antiquity . . . ; Socrates rather listened to the internal voice."

Though a man of peace, Confucius had all his wits about him. In his opinion diplomacy, to be efficacious, should be supported by military power. On the occasion of this utterance he saved his ducal master from assassination, and behaved with great firmness. He was no teetotaler. He used to say, "Drink as much as you like, so long as you don't get fuddled."

In personal appearance Confucius was very tall; but, owing to a doubt in sinological minds as to what a "foot" actually meant in those days, it is impossible to fix his exact height; his portraits always represent him as having a very prominent forehead, and, indeed, it was on this account that he was given the private name (now strictly tabooed) of K'iu, or "Tumulus." His portraits and statues all represent him as being a big, bony man, with large limbs and heavy features; square, massive head, club nose, prominent teeth, a forehead also prominent to deformity; long, fleshy ears; and an expression indicating caution, contemplation, moderation, absence of imagination, and perhaps a little sluggishness;—altogether the



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THE STATUE OF CONFUCIUS FROM HIS TEMPLE.

[*To face p. 180.*]

sort of man a wife would soon fall out with unless she happened to be of submissive temper.

A Scotch missionary named Alexander Williamson visited the rival Duke Mencius in 1865 (seventieth in descent from the philosopher of that name). His city is not far from that of Duke Confucius. The latter duke, then a boy of sixteen, under the guardianship of his uncle, was not so accommodating as the descendant of the "secondary prophet"—as the Chinese call Mencius—and only sent out polite messages. He lived in a very fine mansion, occupying the site of the old house within the hollow walls of which were concealed copies of the historical classics when the "First Emperor" destroyed the literature of China in 213 B.C. The temple is adjoining, and the courtyard contains the blasted remains of a cypress said to have been planted by Confucius himself. The enormous statue of the Sage facing the door represents him as "a strong, well-built man, with a full, red face and large head, a little heavy, his front teeth exposed, his nose thick and round." Amongst the incense-pots and other vessels were a dish alleged to date back as far as 2300 B.C.; two censers, bearing dates in the sixteenth century before Christ; and two elephants on a table, all of a date not very much later. There is, I believe, also a wooden urn given to the Duke 150 years ago by the fourth Manchu Emperor; the urn belonged to the descendant of Confucius in the seventh degree, and is 2200 years old; it seems to have been, up to that date, preserved as a curiosity by successive emperors. Eighty (another visitor says fifty) per cent. of the people in the city of Crooked Hill bear the family name of K'ung; one of the city gates is set apart for the exclusive use of emperors. The land in possession of the philosopher's family is inalienable, and by ancient custom the innumerable bats which live in the roofs of the temple buildings are left undisturbed. About 500 years ago a Chinese emperor, noticing these Stygian animals, made a pun on the subject, and left the calligraphic record of his imperial hilarity upon a board which is still hanging there. The words for "bat" and "luck" sound the same in Chinese, so the Emperor wrote, "May the myriads of bats never grow fewer," though what he really meant was "May your shadow never grow less," as our cant saying goes. Dr. Edkins has expressed

the opinion that the use of statues in Confucian temples is a Buddhistic innovation, and this probably is so; but M. Chavannes has abundantly proved that stone images existed in China long before the introduction of Buddhism, which only gave extension or impetus to an already existing germ.

It has always been one of the first cares of a new dynasty in China to pay respect to the memory of Confucius, who occupies, in fact, in the far eastern sphere a moral position analogous and hardly second to that of Jesus Christ in Europe, except that the influence is rather of a platonic than a religious kind. In 195 B.C. the founder of the Early Han dynasty, and in A.D. 72 and 85 the Emperors Ming and Chang of the Later Han dynasty, sacrificed in person at the ancestral village; the last-named gave a banquet to sixty-two of the male descendants of Confucius: in A.D. 123 his grandson, the Emperor An, once more visited the shrine. Between A.D. 9 and 386, various emperors of successive usurping and regular houses conferred hereditary titles upon or promoted the eldest sons in the direct line. In A.D. 450 the Tartar Emperor ruling the northern half of China, following the usual precedent, seized the occasion of his being with a conquering army in Shan Tung province to sacrifice an ox to Confucius, whose temple had a few years before that been repaired by the native Chinese dynasty of Sung. During the fifth and sixth centuries, when the empire was divided, both the Tartar and Chinese monarchs went out of their way to honour Confucius. In the year 576 the then Tartar Emperor first of all gave Confucianism precedence over *Taoism* and Buddhism, and then ended by "abolishing" the last two altogether within his dominions.

Oxen have been regularly slaughtered ever since then, until, to come to our own day, in September 1897 the principal mandarins and *liverati* of Shanghai (and, in fact, of every city in China) assembled in the usual ceremonious way, according to the English newspapers there, to offer sacrifice at the local temple of the Sage. A number of Europeans went this last time to witness the Shanghai ceremony, which, of course, included the sacrifice of a whole orthodox ox before the tablet of Confucius.

Although the reigning Manchu dynasty has shown every reasonable honour both to the hereditary Duke Confucius and

to the Grand Lama of Tibet, yet it takes good care to keep both of them strictly in their quasi-religious place. Towards the close of the year 1644, the first Manchu monarch "proceeded in person to the south of the city (Peking) to inform Heaven of his succession." He also directly afterwards officially approved "the continuance in his ducal rank of K'ung Yün-chih, descendant in the sixty-fifth degree from Confucius." In 1645 a slight change was sanctioned in Confucius' title as then inscribed upon his temple tablet, and the special right to pass one of the Confucian family at each of the provincial degree examinations was continued. Towards the end of that year, however, it became necessary to administer a severe snub to his Grace. One of the seniors of the family, who had held high office in the provinces, and who seems according to custom to have acted as spokesman in business matters, reported that "K'ung Yün-chih, with four generations of descendants, had duly paid visits to the ancestral temple, in order to report to the ancestral spirits the innovation of the Manchu queue, or 'pigtail'; but that ever since the Han dynasty (200 B.C.), and so on up to the close of the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1644), the costumes of the Confucius family had alone remained unchanged during all dynastic vicissitudes. The question, therefore, arises: Does a change of attire accord in principle with the Emperor's exalted desire to honour Confucius? Is the Manchu queue to be insisted upon or not?" The Emperor replied: "There is no question. The decree about shaving the head was strict; there was to be no pardon for recalcitrants. The present applicant has *ipso facto* incurred the penalty of death, which, however, is hereby remitted on account of his connection with the Sage. If the Sage had been living now, this disobedience to contemporary law would even by himself have been held to be an outrage upon the 'happy medium' principles inculcated by him. Let the applicant cease for ever to be officially employed." Thus the modernized Confucius has, like any other Chinaman, to wear tight sleeves and a Manchu plaited queue, as is explained by Dr. Edkins, who, in company with the late Dr. Legge, of Oxford, visited the temple in 1873, and composed from local hearsay an elaborate study of the religious dance used at the worship. The posturers, however, are still permitted to wear the ancient costumes, just as

theatrical performers must, in the natural way of things, receive the privilege. In 1646 a Confucian temple was set up at the old Manchu capital of Mukden. In 1651 an officer was sent by his majesty to sacrifice at Confucius' native town and temple. In 1652 the Emperor gave a banquet to the Duke at the Board of Civil Office. In 1658 a censor favoured the Emperor with the following short sketch of Confucius' record :—

“ His own Grand Duke simply called him Father Ni, and never so much as bestowed an official word of praise on him when he gave him a memorial temple. In the year A.D. 1 the reigning emperor called him the ‘ Illustrious Father Ni.’ ” (Confucius' second name is Chung-ni, or “ Ni the Second.”) “ In 492 the Tartar monarch then in possession styled him ‘ Father Ni of Sacred Lore.’ In 637 the Chinese Emperor changed it to ‘ Father Ni of Illustrious Holiness ’ ; and in 733 he was first dubbed ‘ Prince of Illustrious Lore.’ In 1308 the Mongol Emperor Hayshan styled him ‘ Most Perfect, Most Holy, Most Learned Prince ’ ; and this title was continued by the first rulers of the succeeding Chinese dynasty, until in 1530 it was changed to ‘ Most Holy Late Master.’ As Confucius' memorial tablet gives him no princely rank whilst he was alive, it seems absurd to call him a prince after death. ‘ Illustrious Lore ’ by itself is hardly enough, but it would seem that ‘ Most Holy ’ includes almost everything ; whilst ‘ Late Master ’ is a good, straight, unchangeable expression. In 1645 our dynasty changed the title from ‘ Most Holy Late Master ’ back to ‘ Most Perfect, Most Holy, Most Learned,’ following the Mongol Emperor Hayshan ; but without adding the word ‘ Prince.’ In my opinion, to call him a prince is to put a libel on his perfect holiness ; nor do the words ‘ Most Perfect ’ and ‘ Most Learned ’ suffice to express all his merits. In A.D. 800 one of the most learned statesmen of that time expressed the opinion that presuming to approve or qualify Confucius was like presuming to praise the size of the world or the brightness of the sun—*i. e.* it would be either foolishness or ignorance. I think your majesty, who is wisdom personified, ought to change his title back to that of ‘ Most Holy Late Master.’ ” The Emperor approved, and a few weeks later made a donation equal to £10,000 sterling towards repairing Confucius' temple. On

several occasions the same Emperor sacrificed to Confucius' memory at the Peking palace.

The second Manchu Emperor, who was at the moment engaged in a dispute with Verbiest and his rivals about the proper way to calculate eclipses, accepted Jesuit learning while rejecting Jesuit dogmas, and sacrificed to Confucius in A.D. 1670. In 1684 he personally visited the town, and was shown over the temple by the Duke. All succeeding Manchu emperors have treated the ducal family with equal respect. When the late Emperor Kwang-sü ascended the throne in 1874, the then duke, whose name was K'ung Siang-k'ö, sent up an obsequious memorial direct to the Emperor, submitting his condolences, and offering to come to the funeral. He said that on receiving the news of the Emperor T'ung-chi's death, "prostrate on the ground, he tore and cried aloud, not knowing what to do with himself. . . . His late majesty . . . having been borne aloft by the dragon to become a guest on high, all creatures possessing the pulsation of life, without exception, claw the earth whilst they wail, and strike their bosoms whilst they endeavour to mount up with him. . . . The memorialist is most deeply and most egregiously beholden to his late majesty for the present honours and emoluments enjoyed by him, and had the honour of a personal audience in the year 1865. . . . It becomes his duty to prostrate himself before the Imperial coffin, to behold his present majesty's sacred countenance," etc. The Emperor's reply was: "He is permitted to come to Peking for an audience."

The rank of the hereditary Duke Confucius, or rather his place at Court, is after that of a Grand Secretary (*e. g.* the late Li Hung-chang), but before that of the President of the Board of Civil Office. As this president ranks first of the [in 1897] six, it follows that Confucius ranks before all ministers, viceroys, etc., but after Imperial princes; and also after half-a-dozen or so of what may be styled Imperial chancellors, or dignitaries of cancellarean quality. His peculiar position may be compared with that of Privy Seal in England, a personage of high nominal quality, who has a sort of ducal rank following that of royal dukes. However, Confucius only wears a blue button, *i. e.* a button of the third grade, though many viceroys, all of whom carry the red button, are often granted that of the very first grade—ruby red. Moreover, viceroys speak of the Duke to

the Emperor as "the said Duke," which dry official term keeps him administratively in his subordinate place. The *Taoist* pope, who also possesses a blue button, has somewhat similar rights at Court. I once paid a visit to this latter functionary, who is, however, despite his immortality, of very small importance as compared with Confucius. It is not the custom to die in the *Taoist* papal family; the soul transmigrates, like the soul of the Dalai Lama, from one functionary to the other. Confucius dies like any other mortal.

The present Duke is named K'ung Ling-i, and a few years ago he had the unpleasant duty of reporting to the Emperor a very serious disaster. The ancestral residence caught fire, and the museum portions, containing all the historical articles presented by successive dynasties during the past 2000 years, were partly destroyed. The temporal title Yen-shêng Kung, or "Widely Holy Duke," dates from A.D. 1055; it was slightly changed in 1086, but put back to the old wording in 1103, and has ever since remained unaltered.

The only son of the philosopher Confucius was called K'ung Li, or "the Carp," in memory of a present of fish received from the reigning Grand Duke at the time; but the Carp's son K'ung Kih, better known as the philosopher Tsz-sz, was a very distinguished author indeed. The descendant in the ninth degree, K'ung Fu, was the man who succeeded in hiding away copies of the chief canonical works when the destroyer of the feudal system (213 B.C.) massacred the learned men and burnt nearly all the Chinese books (then written on tablets of bamboo). These were rediscovered by the vassal prince of Lu about 150 B.C.; and K'ung An-kwoh, the descendant in the twelfth degree, was chiefly instrumental in deciphering and transcribing the obsolete "tadpole" texts. K'ung Kwang, a descendant in the thirteenth degree, was a Minister of State and an expositor at Court; he made himself quite a respectable little reputation because he would never gossip with his family about official matters. It was K'ung Ch'êng, descendant in the twenty-eighth degree, upon whom the Toba Tartar Emperor conferred the personal title of "Elevated Holy Minister" in A.D. 450. Confucius XXXII was a public functionary and scholar of distinction: he died in A.D. 648. In A.D. 785 a descendant in the thirty-seventh degree was employed as an

envoy from the Emperor to an aspiring rebel ; but his ancestor's sanctity did not prevent the rebel from killing him. One of the thirty-eighth degree held office at Canton ; his son fell into official disgrace. The forty-fourth direct descendant bore the hereditary ancestral title of " Duke of Illustrious Lore," besides holding a territorial appointment as prefect. The forty-fifth was employed by the Chinese dynasty then ruling in China proper to proceed as special envoy to the Tartar empire of Cathay, or Mongol-Manchuria, and to congratulate the rough monarch Mupuku upon his accession. A theatrical entertainment was given at the Tartar capital in honour of the Chinese envoy ; but the uncouth Cathayans had the bad taste to introduce the Sage among the *dramatis personæ* as a comic character. On seeing his ancestor ridiculed in this way, the envoy very properly rose and left the theatre, and this action of his shamed the Cathayans into an official apology.

This last Confucius, whose full name was K'ung Tao-fu, achieved a reputation as a bold expostulator at Court, and in 1033 he was sent " down to the provinces " for taking the Empress' part in a dispute about the succession. It was K'ung Yüan, being Confucius XLVII, who first received the existing temporal title of *Yen Shêng Kung*, or " Duke of Wide Holiness."

Mr. Consul Markham, of Chefoo, was politely received by the seventy-fifth descendant in 1869. Dr. Legge and Dr. Edkins were as unsuccessful in 1873 as Mr. Williamson had been in 1865 in their attempts to gain admittance into the private apartments of the same Duke. His Grace placed one of his relatives at their disposal to conduct them through the temple, and also to the tomb, but he himself pleaded business as an excuse for not seeing them. The Rev. J. H. Laughlin had no better success (in October 1893) with the present Duke, the subject of our paper. " Preparation for the day was made by a call the evening previous, upon the representative of the present head of the Confucian family. The head himself is far too high in the air to receive the calls of ordinary mortals . . . seventy-six generations have come into the world since Confucius went out. . . . The present recipient is only twenty-one years of age ; his relative, who represents him in the world, and who wears a button of the third rank, sixty." According to

Dr. Edkins, the Duke owns 3600 *k'ing* (more than 20,000 hectares) of land, distributed over various prefectures in the Shan Tung province, and draws therefrom a revenue estimated at £120,000, besides engaging in trade. Some boats were seen on the Grand Canal with flags, each inscribed: "This belongs to the hereditary Duke." There were seven of them, employed in carrying bamboos, wood, rice, etc., to the larger city markets for sale. Indeed there seems to be ground for suspicion that the Duke then traded in opium too. "The extension of the cultivation of the poppy even to the birthplace of Confucius seemed a sign that the teaching of that great man cannot sufficiently brace the moral energy of his countrymen to enable them hopefully to cope with this great evil. From this point to the old Yellow River, three hundred miles to the south, the cultivation of the plant continues at intervals the whole way." [No doubt the anti-opium movement which began in 1906 has changed all this.] Dr. Edkins was disappointed to find that the Duke seemed to do little or nothing for his clan, most of whom were very poor; in fact, two of the Sage's posterity had the honour of transporting the baggage of the two learned sinologists upon a wheelbarrow. "The older man was fifty-five . . . and thankfully received a special donation made to him at the end of the journey on the ground that his ancestor was the Sage." It is a curious irony of fate for us to find the *impedimenta* of Dr. Legge, then by far the most distinguished European interpreter of Confucius' sentiments, being wheeled in a barrow, after a lapse of 2400 years, by a humbler member of the philosopher's family, whilst the noble Duke himself, no doubt ignorant of the services rendered by the applicant to his ancestor's fame, inexorably closed his door to the renowned Western scholar. As Dr. Edkins says: "Our cards had also been sent in, when some caprice caused the Duke to change his mind, or it may be that some important business required his immediate attention." Dr. Edkins does not tell us what view he took of Confucius' personal appearance as represented by his statue, but Mr. Laughlin is more outspoken: "It cannot be for his good looks that he is honoured; for, say the Chinese, whilst most people are faulty in one or more of the principal features, Confucius is so in the entire seven. That is to say, his mouth is disfigured by two projecting lower teeth; his nostrils are too conspicuous; his two eyes show too

much white; and his two ears are of bad shape." Possibly these irregularities may have had something to do with the matrimonial difficulty. In the cemetery hard by are the seventy-six (? 75) graves of direct lineal descendants, and, in a specially reserved corner, the tombs of the Sage, his son the "Carp," and his grandson Tsz-sz. The 7000 families of the clan have all the right of burial in the larger enclosure; there are about 25,000 individuals altogether, but they are scattered about in other cities of Shan Tung, and do not all reside at Crooked Hill. They engage in most occupations, but Dr. Edkins says that he could not hear of any of them having ever become Buddhist priests. Sometimes foreigners adopt the Sage's name. For instance, when I was a junior consular officer at Tientsin in 1871, the Russian Consul-General called himself Confucius, his own name, Skatschkoff, being altogether too much for the unsophisticated Chinese tongue. However, it is not for me to criticize his action, for during my quarter of a century of residence in China I was always officially known by the patronymic of a rival philosopher named Chwang (which may be latinized into Sancius); whilst the British Consul at Tientsin in 1871 (Mongan) rejoiced in the name of Mêng or Mencius, thus completing the triumvirate of pseudo-sages.

Just as there was once a papal schism and an emigration from Rome to Avignon, so, when the Golden Tartars (ancestors of the Manchus) drove the Chinese Sung dynasty over the River Yangtze in 1127, the Confucius of the time, perhaps dreading further dramatic improprieties, followed the fallen dynasty to Hangchow, and was quartered by them in the city of K'ü-chou Fu (province of Chêh Kiang), until their successors the Mongols put an end to the Confucian schism. But the Golden Tartars had meanwhile appointed a rival duke of their own choosing, who continued to reside at Crooked Hill, where all the memorial tablets given by successive dynasties have steadily remained. The house, which was partly burnt down a few years ago, had been rebuilt by the Ming dynasty about A.D. 1550, and was repaired by the sixth Manchu Emperor about 1830; the magistrate of Crooked Hill was ordered to restore it after the fire, and the governor of the province had to find the money.

Since the above account was written, I have discovered a few further interesting facts, which I may as well add here, in order to complete the subject as far as possible.

In 1719 the Emperor extended to the southern branch the privilege, already enjoyed by the original stock, of having two degrees allotted at the examinations to the surname of Confucius: the southern branch is in Si-an district, K'ü-chou prefecture, Chêh Kiang province.

A little over one thousand years ago, the Emperor of the then reigning Sung dynasty created Confucius' father a duke (K'i-shêng Duke), independently of the Sage's transmitted titles as changed from time to time. Accordingly, in 1723, the Manchu Emperor, who had been brooding over this fact, resolved to ennoble four generations of his grandfathers too. A very serious question arose: Shall these five ancestors be "princes"? After a long and learned discussion it was decided they should receive the following titles: Prince of Chao-shêng, of Yü-shêng, of I-shêng, of Ch'ang-shêng, and of K'i-shêng; which mean "Beginner, Developer, Leaver, Brightener, and Opener" of the Sage. In 1724 there was a fire at Confucius' temple, but the Emperor had it promptly restored. The Duke at this time received several strong censures, amongst which was one for "blasphemous flattery of the Emperor." It was now that imperial or yellow tiles were first used for the Sage's temple. The various members of the Confucius family employed in the provinces seem to have "squeezed" and been punished just like any other mandarins. In 1741 the Duke was ordered to consult the governor in making his sacrificial appointments, and was not allowed to meddle with or select men from the southern branch any longer. In 1744 all Buddhist priests and images were cleared away from local Confucian temples throughout the empire. In 1756 the Duke was punished for jobbery, and it was only owing to his extreme youth that the title was not taken from him and given to another member of the family; the Emperor paid several visits to the Sage's tomb, and in 1762 had yellow tiles placed upon the Great Hall.

This last-mentioned Emperor (K'ien-lung) was not a man to be trifled with; it is doubtful if in the whole history of Europe—with the exceptions, perhaps, of Napoleon, Bismarck,



K'UNG LING-I.

The hereditary *Yen-shêng K'ung*, or "Propagating Holiness Duke"; 76th in descent from K'ung K'iu, *alias* K'ung Chung-ni, the original philosopher, B.C. 551-479.

This portrait was presented to "the priest P'êng" (Père Tschepé, S.J.), on the occasion of his visit in 1907 (7th moon, 33rd year).

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and one or two others—there can be found other instances of such extraordinary and unscrupulous mental activity. The *Taoist* pope was hopelessly extinguished as a fraud, but he was allowed a certain nominal rank at Court in consideration of antiquity. The Confucian dukes were remorselessly held down, and had to take from the Emperor himself the definition of what their ancestor really intended they should think. His attitude towards missionaries was not unkind, but he firmly resolved to be master in his own empire, and this, of course, led to persecutions. He had sweeping ideas on the subject of religion. In the second year of his reign he issued the following decree: “Buddhism and *Taoism* are at best but heresies; but those who read the Confucian classics without trying to improve their ways outrage our ancient teachers even more than heretics do. And then astrologers, fortune-tellers, and people of that class, Mussulmans, Christians, and so on;—the laws of the state have never absolutely prohibited the tenets of any of these. After all, Buddhism and *Taoism* are only devices for earning a living; and the old, poor, orphans, and childless ones can very often eke out an existence in this way, not to mention that there is some small advantage, too, in the manner in which good is inculcated and evil deprecated.” At the same time the Emperor, at least officially, believed in the efficacy of prayer, for in times of scarcity he “begged grain from the Ruler Above” (Shang-ti), and was so dutiful to his mother that he took her about wherever he went, even to his hunting expeditions. He denied to his deceased empress the honours of an Imperial burial, because she had been rude to his mother.

At one time he endeavoured to register all the Buddhist and *Taoist* priests in the empire, so as to prevent their increasing; but at last he gave it up: he thought it best to let them alone; for, said he, “if deprived of their squeezes, they will only recruit the ranks of highway robbers, and become a still greater nuisance.”

In 1903, Sir James (then Mr.) Stewart Lockhart, his Majesty's Commissioner at Wei-hai-wei, was much more successful with K'ung Ling-i (the seventy-sixth lineal descendant of the Sage), who has since then been in mourning for his late distinguished mother. His portrait is given on the opposite page. I cannot do better than give here the original

words of Sir James, that part of whose report¹ describing the visit was several years ago kindly placed at my disposal by his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies :—

“ From Yen chou Fu to Ch'ü Fou, the home of Confucius, the distance is only ten miles. The scenery between the two places is most picturesque, the country being covered with rich crops of grain and well wooded. On reaching the city, we were welcomed by the Magistrate, who provided us with quarters in the building in which the Literary Chancellor resides when he comes to hold his examinations.²

“ Soon after our arrival, the steward of Yen Shêng Kung, the Holy Duke, a title first conferred on the lineal descendant of Confucius in A.D. 1055, called to inform us that the Duke would be pleased to receive a visit from me on the following day. It is doubtful whether any family can trace a longer descent than that of Confucius. Genealogical tables are common in which the descent is traced from Huang Ti, 2637 B.C., one of the most famous of the legendary rulers of China, but the more generally accepted view is that his ancestry dates back to the commencement of the Chou dynasty, 1121 B.C. The present Duke, who is thirty-two years of age, belongs to the seventy-sixth generation of descendants of the Great Sage, who was born in 551 B.C., and died in 479 B.C.

“ On Sunday, the 10th of May, I went in uniform to the Temple of Confucius to show my respect for China's Great Sage. I was conducted by descendants of the Sage to that portion of the temple where Chinese have to kneel and perform the kotow to their great teacher. Having raised my hat, I read in Chinese a short encomium of Confucius. I then proceeded to the main building of the temple, where the Duke and his suite were waiting to receive me.

“ The Duke, who is tall and strongly made, with a handsome face and pleasant manner, accorded me a most cordial reception. He said that he was much gratified that I had evinced so kind a desire to see him : that it was both his duty and his pleasure ‘ to treat kindly strangers from afar ’ in accordance with the teaching of his ancestor : that as I had come such a great distance it afforded him great pleasure to see me : that the Governor of Shan Tung had written to inform him that

¹ Original spelling preserved.

² Since abolished.

I was well acquainted with the works and teachings of Confucius, and that it was difficult to find a European possessed of such knowledge : that on that account alone he was especially pleased to meet me, and that he would be glad if I would allow a photograph of all present to be taken.

“After a group had been taken, the Duke escorted me to the main entrance gate of the temple.

“On Monday, the 11th of May, we proceeded to the Temple of Confucius, and were met at the entrance by two of the uncles of the Duke and his steward, who conducted us all round the buildings.

“The grounds of the temple cover about thirty-five acres, and are well wooded with fine old cypress, yew, and fir trees of great age. Among the trees are one planted by the Sage himself, and two planted during the T'ang (A.D. 618-905) and Sung dynasties (A.D. 960-1126).

“The temple is divided into a series of courts, of which there are six, before the main temple is reached. Each court is separated from the other by a gateway, but has steps leading into the court on either side. The main temple is built upon the spot where Confucius, who was born in 551 B.C. and died in 479 B.C., lived. In front of the entrance to the main temple are thirteen pavilions covering tablets with inscriptions written by various emperors of China. The main temple itself consists of ten buildings and an altar : each building has a court to itself.

“After passing through the entrance to the main temple, the altar called the Hsing T'an is reached. It is open on four sides, and is so named because Confucius received those who came to seek his instruction at a place so called. Behind the Hsing T'an is the Ya Ch'êng Tien, a great hall containing a statue of Confucius, sixteen feet high, seated on a throne and screened with curtains embroidered with dragons. The hall is supported in front by white marble pillars with deeply carved dragons, and in the north, east, and west by pillars of black marble carved in cameo-work. The floor is lined with black marble, and the roof is covered with yellow tiles. The ceiling consists of 486 panels, square in shape, gilded at the edge, and ornamented with dragons.

“In front of the statue is a table on which are displayed enamelled vases and bronze urns and tripods, presented to the

temple by the Emperor Yung Chêng (A.D. 1723-1736), and which are said to date back to the second year of Yüan Ho, of the Han Dynasty (A.D. 85). In the hall are suspended four gilded tablets and three pairs of scrolls presented by emperors of the present dynasty, and there are also statues of Yen Tzŭ and Tsêng Tzŭ, his favourite disciples, of his grandson, of Mencius, and of twelve of his chief disciples. At the east and west of the great hall are two corridors containing the tablets of his disciples and the philosophers who have supported his teaching from the earliest times up to the present dynasty. Behind the grand hall is a building in honour of his wife, and in the rear of it is a building panelled with black marble, in which are depicted scenes in the life of Confucius, and in one of which is a picture of the Sage. On the west are three buildings, the first being the hall in which the music is played at the worship of Confucius, the instruments used being kept in a building still further to the west. The second contains the statue of the father of Confucius; the third is in honour of his mother. On the east are three buildings. The first is in honour of the classics, and the other two are in honour of his ancestors. In the court in front of these two buildings are a tablet on which is engraved the genealogical tree of the family of Confucius, but which is so affected by age that it is not possible to obtain from it satisfactory rubbings; the well used by Confucius; and a pillar marking the site of the spot where the Confucian classics were found in the wall of the house formerly inhabited by Confucius, having been hidden there to save them from the general burning of books ordered in 213 B.C. by the first Emperor Shih Huang Ti.

“After our interesting inspection of the temple we lunched with the Duke, who made a most genial host. He asked me to accept the glass goblet out of which I drank as a memento of the feast, and hoped that I would send him copies of the photographs we had taken. He said that he had seen Europeans before, but that I was the first to whom he had ever spoken; that he had been twice to Peking, and intended to go there again shortly with his brother. The object of the visit is to arrange a second marriage for the Duke, who recently lost his wife.

“In the afternoon we went to the tomb of Confucius, which

is situated to the north of the city, and is distant from it about a mile and a half. We were met by K'ung Hsiang-lin and another descendant of Confucius. The approach to the tomb is through a fine avenue lined with cypress trees, symbolical of the immortality of the fame of the Sage, and leads up to the gates of the cemetery, which covers a large area of ground, thickly wooded with trees of large size and great age.

"After passing through the entrance, the road, which is lined with pillars inscribed by various emperors, winds to the west until a brook called the Chu Shui, "the Red Water," is reached. This brook is crossed by three bridges, the centre one of which leads to an avenue of trees, one of which is the famous tree planted by Tzū Kung, one of the most distinguished of Confucius' disciples. At the end of the avenue are six stone figures, four of animals and two of men, sixteen feet in height, which are immediately in front of a hall, containing an incense table, in which the ceremonies in honour of Confucius are performed. This hall opens by four folding doors into the enclosure, in which are three mounds, marking the last resting-place of the Sage, his son, and his grandson.

"The grave of Confucius is a mound about thirty feet in height and one hundred in circumference, covered with trees and brushwood. In front of it are a stone urn and altar, and a tombstone with the following inscription in seal characters: 'The most holy ancient Sage, the Prince of Culture.'

"To the west of the tomb is a small building erected on the spot where Tzū Kung, the beloved disciple of the Sage, mourned for his master six years.

"To the east of Confucius' tomb is the grave of his son, and to the south-east that of his grandson. Both are high mounds with stone urns and pillars, and in front of the grave of the grandson are two colossal stone figures. The tombstones bear the following inscriptions in ordinary characters: 'The tomb of the Marquis of Ssū Shui' (the title by which the son is known to posterity). 'The tomb of the Transmitter of the Sacred Sage, of the State of I' (the title by which the grandson is known to posterity).

"On Tuesday, the 12th of May, we set out from Ch'ü Fou for Tsou Hsien, the city in which the philosopher Mencius (372-289 B.C.) was born.

“ On our way we visited the graves of the father and mother of Mencius, which are situated in a beautifully wooded cemetery in which are buried many of the descendants of Mencius. The cemetery is distant about twenty-five li from Ch'ü Fou.

“ Mencius, having lost his father early, was brought up by his mother, whose name is a household word in China, and who has been styled ‘ The Cornelia of China.’ She lived in three different places on her son’s account. ‘ At first she moved to a dwelling near a cemetery, the result being that the boy began to reproduce in play the solemn scenes which were constantly enacted before his eyes. His mother accordingly removed to another house near the market-place, and before long her son forgot all about funerals and played at buying and selling goods. Once more his mother disapproved, and again changed her dwelling ; this time to a house near a college, where he soon began to imitate the ceremonial observances in which the students were instructed, to the great joy and satisfaction of his mother.’ In the cemetery we met a descendant of Mencius of the sixty-ninth generation, who was photographed in front of the grave of his ancestors.

“ The tomb of Mencius himself lies to the south-east of that of his mother, at a distance of about seven miles. It is approached by a fine avenue of trees, and is situated on a hill thickly wooded which can be seen for many miles. A temple for the purpose of worship (which is in a bad state of repair) faces the tomb, which, like that of Confucius, is a high mound covered with trees and brushwood. The tombstone bears the inscription, ‘ The grave of Mencius, the second Holy One ’ (Confucius being the first).

“ After a rest we visited the temple of Mencius. We were received by the present representative of the family, who belongs to the seventy-fourth generation, by his uncle, and the District Magistrate.

“ The present representative of Mencius is the younger brother of the former representative, who died without issue a few years ago, and is aged twenty-eight. He has no family, but if he ever has a son, he will be regarded as the child of his elder brother, and will succeed to the title.

“ Entering the main gate of the temple from the street, we passed up an avenue of old cypress trees, to the right and left

of which are marble tablets erected by emperors of the various dynasties in honour of Mencius. The avenue leads to the main temple, which is built in a terrace with a verandah supported by marble pillars carved with dragons. In the hall is a statue of Mencius, and of one of his favourite disciples, Yo-Chêng Kê. Behind the main hall are halls in honour of his father, his son, and his wife.

“The temple of Mencius is not kept in a good state of repair, in which respect it contrasts very unfavourably with the temple of Confucius.

“We next proceeded to visit a temple dedicated to K'ung Chi, or Tzŭ Ssŭ, the grandson of Confucius, and the author of the *Doctrine of the Mean*, one of the Chinese classics. The temple is built on the site where Mencius taught and lived, and contains a statue of Tzŭ Ssŭ. We also visited a temple erected to the memory of the mother of Mencius, in which there are tablets in honour of his mother and her son.”

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The latest first-hand testimony is that of the Rev. M. L. Griffith, who writes from the city of Shun-têh Fu, in Chih Li province, as follows (in June or July 1909) :—

“In the small market-town of Ho-tao-ku, south-east of Shun-têh, there is a small Confucian temple which contains an image of Confucius, in a sitting posture, about four feet high. The face is dark brown, the ear-lobes very large, the upper set of teeth exposed to view, a cap on the head, and a small roll in the left hand. The image is said to be rather ancient, but it is in good preservation ; it is sheltered by a wooden structure. There is the usual Confucian tablet.”

CHAPTER III

THE LIFE, LABOURS, AND DOCTRINES OF CONFUCIUS

WE know very little of China previous to Confucius' time (sixth century B.C.), but what little we do know was sifted for us and transmitted by Confucius. We may sum it up in a few words. The written character in an antique form had certainly existed for several thousand years, but it is quite uncertain how many; the best authorities say 3000, that is 5000 from now. Very recent discoveries in Babylonia have revealed to us original Sumerian cuneiform records on a wholesale scale, written in clay, and dating at least 5000 years back; but there are no such original ancient records in China, nor is there any trace of the Chinese ever having written in clay, still less of there being any connection between Chinese and those Western hieroglyphs which preceded cuneiform. Several dynasties had existed, and the rulers of these had shifted their capitals from time to time according to the vagaries of the Yellow River. One of their chief cares was to deal with the havoc wrought or threatened by the floods which resulted from these fluvial irregularities. But although the earliest Chinese literature reaches back to events of 4000 years ago, the older records are so brief and laconic that we derive no satisfactory mental picture from them.

In the time of Confucius the Imperial power had dwindled down almost to nothing, and the appanage states of the vassal princes, most of which had been conferred originally upon kinsmen of the king (for the more modern title of *hwang-ti* or "emperor," which in those days applied to the Supreme God, and thence only by extension to past emperors, had not yet assumed its present definite form), were almost independent. The condition of China was, in fact, almost exactly like that of France before Louis XI broke the power of the vassal

dukes and counts ; and the position of the Chinese king, as a moral head over all men, was not unlike the present position of the Pope as the moral head of Christendom : he was towards the end as much a prisoner as a monarch ; his temporal sway was almost reduced to his immediate surroundings ; and the whims of feudatories, coupled with the infiltration of barbarian customs, were gradually corrupting the old polity. Not only were the vassal principalities, dukedoms, and counties insubordinate in relation to the king, but their own counts, barons, and squires were equally presumptuous towards themselves ; and it was into this chaotic condition of society and policy, where each clever man was fighting for his own hand alone, that Confucius was ushered at his birth.

The ancestors of Confucius could, at the time of his birth in the year 551 B.C., be traced back in a way for over two thousand years ; but, as we know next to nothing of practical history previous to his time, it is futile to pursue inquiry into remote family matters. Where nothing is known of an extinct *genus*, it is vain to inquire into its *species*. The royal dynasty nominally ruling in Confucius' time began 671 years before his birth, and one of Confucius' ancestors, who was a half-brother of the last monarch of the dethroned dynasty, was enfeoffed in a state called Sung, the capital of which was the modern Kwei-têh *Fu* in Ho Nan. About 250 years before Confucius' birth, the reigning duke of this state resigned his rights of succession to a younger brother. The elder brother and his heirs were thus for ever cut off from the ducal succession, and the customary law of China then was that, after five generations, a branch of the reigning family must found a new *gens* or clan of its own. So, then, it came to pass that K'ung-fu-kia, fifth in descent from the abdicating duke, gave the first syllable of his name as a clan name to his heirs. The great-grandson of the man who thus founded in its strict or narrower sense the family of K'ung was the great-grandfather of the philosopher.

¶ The great-grandfather of Confucius was obliged to fly from the duchy on account of some political trouble, and he became a citizen of a neighbouring state called Lu. His grandson, the father of Confucius, became an officer of state, and distinguished himself by proficiency in the warlike arts. He was 10 feet in height ; but the learned are still disputing the question

of ancient feet : probably a foot was then 8 inches, as now measured, and Confucius' father would thus be 6 feet 8 inches in height, by no means a very rare thing even with modern Chinamen of the north. This promising soldier had nine daughters born to him in succession by his wife. In China there can, except under very special circumstances, only be one strictly legal wife ; but should this wife fail to present her lord with a son, it was, and is still, permissible to take a wife of the second class, or, in scriptural language, a handmaid, who may in certain eventualities hope for future promotion to the full rank of wife. It cannot be denied that Confucius' father was very patient with his wife, for it seems he gave her nine chances before he took a handmaid in his despair. This handmaid gave birth to a son, who was a cripple. The gallant soldier was now seventy years of age. In China daughters do not count for so much as sons, and are often killed as useless incumbrances, the great object being to have at least one son to perform religious rites—those rites which the Romans used to call *sacra privata*. Confucius' father appears to have resolved, therefore, in his old age to stake everything upon a supreme effort, and he married a mere girl. Either he or she, or both of them, went to pray for a son at a temple on Mount *Ni-k'iu*, a spot lying to the west of K'ü-fu city. The offspring of the union was Confucius, whose personal name was *K'iu*, and whose second name was *Chung-ni* or “*Ni the Second*” (his crippled brother having been the First). The chief feature in Confucius, as a baby, was that the crown of his head was concave instead of being convex, a peculiarity which must have given him a singular appearance. *K'iu* means “a mound,” and some say he was so called because his forehead protruded. In China personal names of great folk are tabooed, sometimes in writing as well as speech. Hence, if it is ever found absolutely necessary to use the word *K'iu*, the difficulty is surmounted by omitting one stroke, and thus making it a little different. In speech the word “So-and-so” is substituted : thus instead of saying “Mr. Mound Hole,” the Chinese say “Mr. So-and-so Hole.” There is no taboo to the *cognomen* or second name, and so we have the characters *chung-ni* in daily use. Owing to one historian having used the expression “wild union” in connection with Confucius' mother, some

authors have supposed that the soldier "kept company in the wilderness"; but judicious commentators explain that a man is not supposed to go a-courting after sixty-four, nor a woman to begin it before fourteen; and that the "wild union" in question did not refer to the absence of due ceremony in the marriage, but to the fact that the husband was unusually spry and the wife unusually precocious for their respective ages. This interesting event took place in the year 551 B.C.; and two or three years later the father died. He was buried at a spot eight miles east of Confucius' own grave, as will shortly be explained in full.

We may pass rapidly over the events which took place during Confucius' youth. They are of slender importance, and, such as they are, we know but little of them. At the age of six he was observed to take pleasure in playing with sacrificial vessels and in imitating ceremonial movements, much as English children of the same age sometimes play at holding church services. He is supposed to have gone to school at the age of seven; but the best authorities, Chinese and European, are not satisfied upon this point, which in any case is just what a Chinese boy would do, and still usually does. Confucius himself informs us that, at fifteen, his whole mind was devoted to study. What is certain is that his mother removed with him to the town of K'üh-fu, or "Crooked Hill," where his descendants now live: this town is, as just stated, a little east of Mount Ni, and is 8 miles west of the spot where his father was buried. About 600 years before Confucius' birth, the first Emperor of the Imperial dynasty of Chou enfeoffed the regent, his uncle, Duke of Chou, as feudal prince at Crooked Hill, styling this feudal state Lu. It had an area, or perhaps circuit, of 330 English miles. As we shall soon see, the Duke of Chou's tomb is still there, and Confucius always took him as a model. The circumstance of our hero's widowed mother being a mere girl, and consequently unable, through maidenly modesty, to follow her venerable husband to the grave, led to Confucius remaining for some years in ignorance of a fact so transcendently important from a Chinese point of view—the exact position of his father's grave: perhaps matters were made worse by the name of his father's village being transferred to the new residence, just as with us Ann Hathaway's cottage might have been

called Stratford if Shakespeare's mother had taken him to live there.

All authorities clearly agree that Confucius married at the age of nineteen, that is, after passing eighteen new-year's-days subsequently to his birth; for in China, a man born on the 31st December is considered to be two years old on the following day, whilst a man born on the 2nd of January would still be two years old on the 31st of December in the following year: so that there may be 700 days difference between the ages of two people both nominally in their nineteenth year. Thus we find, as we go along, that the simplest Chinese facts have to be tested before we can nail them down fairly before our eyes and understandings. In Confucius' case the birth really did take place in the 11th moon, but the next dynasty made some alterations in the calendar, and what was the 11th moon in Confucius' time became the 1st moon of the following year a few centuries later: moreover, although we are told the exact day, the accounts disagree in such a way that there is a discrepancy of some days to account for. All that we can say for certain, therefore, is that, according to our way of reckoning, Confucius was about eighteen when he married.

The next year a son was born, and received the name of "Fish No. 1," with the cognomen of "Carp." This apparently singular choice of names was made in consequence of the reigning duke having sent a congratulatory present of a couple of carp to the young pair. The carp is the king of fish, and no doubt the duke's action had some hidden meaning; just as, in modern marriages, the Chinese often send a couple of geese as a present to wedded couples: the goose is supposed to be the only creature which does not marry again when its spouse dies. Nothing is known of this son except that on two occasions he is recorded to have suddenly come across his father, and to have been severely questioned as to his studies: he seems to have given his father as wide a berth as possible. The fact of the duke having deigned to congratulate a poor man like Confucius is accounted for by the latter having held, at the age of twenty, the post of grain distributor: but here, again, we are confronted with a difficulty; it is not known whether this means a post in the public granaries, and, if so,

central or local; or whether it means a relief officer. The philosopher Mencius, in alluding to this episode, says that "a superior man may occasionally accept office purely for the relief of his poverty." We may therefore fairly conclude that the duke gave the carp because Confucius was a ducal officer, and that Confucius accepted office, as people do in modern times, to relieve his own poverty.

It is incidentally mentioned, in the *Conversations of Confucius* with his disciples, that he gave a daughter in marriage. Nothing more. We may therefore once more safely conclude that he had at least one daughter, who, on her marriage, would in accordance with custom cease to belong to his family.

In his twenty-first year Confucius was promoted or transferred to a post resembling that of estate-agent or watcher over farms; and a year later he collected round him a number of disciples, much after the fashion of the peripatetic philosophers of Greece. He was six inches taller than his father; but, if we are to judge of his personal appearance by the pictures and effigies of him still exhibited in his old house, he was far from being a beautiful man, even though he may have been a commanding one. He was strong and well-built, with a large singularly shaped head, full red face, and contemplative, heavy expression. He had a long sparse beard, ill-shaped ears, a thick round-tipped nose, but flat and shovel-like; two projecting lower teeth, gaping nostrils, and eyes which showed more white than is usual. His back was described by an admirer as being like that of a tortoise. Confucius accepted fees for his instruction, but was more particular about the diligence of the student than the amount of his present. Even at the present day teachers' fees are invariably called "dried meat," or "fuel and water," and school-boys always make periodical presents of food to their masters.

His mother died when he was in his twenty-fourth year. Confucius seems to have buried her temporarily whilst he made inquiry touching the exact spot where his father's body lay: he then opened his father's grave, and transferred to it the coffin of his mother. Both native and foreign commentators have somewhat confused the facts connected with this event. None of the Europeans who have visited

Confucius' tomb seem to have taken the trouble to pass on to the parents' grave: even the Emperor of China, who went carefully over all the chief show-places in 1684, contented himself with sending an officer to sacrifice for him at the paternal shrine: but the position is quite certain; it is at Mount Fang, the position of which has just been described. Confucius had to retire from office for twenty-seven months in order to mourn for his mother. He did this so effectively that it took him five days to recover his natural voice after the twenty-seven months had expired. During the next seven years he continued his teachings, besides himself studying music, official formalities, and archæology. His position was much strengthened when one of the leading men in the state commanded, on his death-bed, that his own son and another relative should join the rising philosopher's school. The duke liberally placed a carriage-and-pair at the disposal of Confucius, who proceeded in it to the Imperial capital in order to make further learned research. At the Imperial capital Confucius had interviews with the keeper of the Imperial archives, a morose hermit-philosopher named Lao-tsz, who founded a rival doctrine or system of mystics called *Taoism*; but as Confucius himself said that he was unable to comprehend those misty teachings, and the very existence of this *Taoist* philosopher is held by some to be a matter of conjecture, we need not dwell further upon the incident. Of course, this visit to the capital enhanced the fame of Confucius, who, on his return the same year, was regarded in much the same light as the Mussulmans regard a pilgrim to Mecca, that is, as a *hadji*. He had also taken the opportunity to improve his knowledge of music.

When Confucius was in his thirty-sixth year, a civil war broke out in the ducal dominions of Lu, owing to factional disputes with the three leading families; the ruler was obliged to fly for refuge to the dominions of a neighbour to his north, and Confucius soon followed. According to China's greatest historian, the origin of the civil war was a disagreement connected with cock-fighting, and it is incidentally mentioned that metal spurs were used by one of the factions.

Confucius became so enamoured of the music he heard in the country of his temporary adoption that for three months he lost all zest for savoury meats. After he had been six

years in the land of Ts'i, the duke of that country expressed a wish to confer a feudal estate upon him ; but one of the local statesmen—the philosopher Yen-tsz, who has left behind him a high reputation for economy and sagacity—objected, on the ground that “ these learned fellows are too glib and intractable, too proud and insubmissive, too fond of showy funerals and exaggerated lamentations, too persuasive and fond of borrowing to govern a kingdom.” In truth, the duke seems to have gradually become rather tired of Confucius, who accordingly betook himself once more to his native land. His disciples were now more numerous than ever. It is interesting to notice that the term *Ju*, which I have here translated “ learned fellows ” is that which is now applied to Confucianists as distinguished from *Taoists* and *Buddhists*: the term is thus older than Confucius, and seems to mean “ men of parts.”

It was not until his forty-seventh year that Confucius again obtained office ; this was under a new duke, the legitimate ruler his brother having four years previously died in the country to which he had fled for asylum. It must be here stated that the dukes of Lu were the direct descendants of Confucius' great model, Duke Chou. A brother or a nephew had occasionally succeeded in the absence of a son ; but, with the exception of an unexplained hiatus between 920 and 855 B.C., the twenty-five dukes had regularly succeeded ever since 1122 B.C., and the reigns of the last eleven of them form the chief part of Confucius' own original work on history. This fact explains Confucius' great loyalty to his master, who was, in fact, a member of the Imperial house, and whose ancestors were tutelary spirits on a subordinate scale. Confucius so reformed the manners of the people in the district entrusted to him that in two years he was promoted to the ministry of public works, and two years later again to that of justice. In this latter capacity he succeeded in crushing several of the haughty mesne-lords and dismantling their castles. He even went so far as to arrest and order the execution of a rich and dangerous intriguer. At the age of fifty-two he accompanied his master in the capacity of prime minister to a spot near the borders of the two estates, and took part in an interview between his own ruler and the one who had given him hospitality for so many years. On

this occasion he succeeded in defeating the insidious diplomacy of the rival state, and in forcing the surrender of disputed territory. But, though Confucius considered that a display of force should accompany diplomatic action, he took the general view that good example was more efficacious than might. Honesty, morality, and funeral etiquette advanced with such strides under the premiership of Confucius that neighbouring states began to grow uneasy. It was first thought advisable to conciliate the rising power by a cession of territory ; but wiler counsels prevailed, and a successful effort was made to corrupt the new duke's heart with presents of beautiful singing-girls and fine horses. This moral collapse so distressed the philosopher that he left the country.

Now commences the chief period of Confucius' travels through the various feudal states, which covered the space of thirteen years. He and his disciples met with various adventures. On several occasions they were menaced by suspicious or hostile bands. On one occasion Confucius incurred the censure of a disciple by accepting (although he tried to escape it) an invitation to pay his respects to a divorced or adulterous duchess. On another he was annoyed at a local duke for relegating him to the second carriage whilst the duchess seated herself along with her husband in the first. One instance is recorded in which he distinctly broke his pledged word ; but he defended himself on the ground that promises extorted by force are not binding. This saying was advanced by a Chinese statesman thirty-one years ago¹ as an excuse and a precedent for repudiating the treaty made by a Chinese envoy with Russia.

Space will not permit of our dwelling further upon this period of wanderings : suffice it to say that the philosopher had as many rebuffs as he had successes, and that most of the rulers, whilst willing to listen to his counsels, seemed to consider that they possessed more of an academic than a practical value. At the age of sixty-six Confucius heard of the death of his wife, and that his son continued weeping for her notwithstanding the lapse of the regulation period of one year. He took the view that, so long as the father was alive, crying more than twelve months for a mother was excessive. This fact, coupled with the circumstance that Confucius' grandson divorced his wife,

¹ The late Chang Chi-tung in 1879.

and would not permit her son to mourn, has given rise to suspicions, owing to certain references to an ancestor made by the grandson, that Confucius must have divorced his wife. The learning upon this point is very intricate, but the best opinion appears to be that the ancestor referred to was, not Confucius, but Confucius' father, who had divorced, not the young girl, but the lady who gave him nine daughters; and that the philosopher was thus, not only the offspring of a strictly legal union, but true to his wife until her death.

When Confucius was sixty-eight years of age, his own duke, son of the man who had sacrificed his reputation to horses and singing-girls, sent a messenger with presents to invite the philosopher back. He went; but he neither asked for nor was offered any official post. He spent his time in composing the history of his own state, beginning with the year 722 B.C., and thus extending over about 250 years. Confucius desired posterity to judge him by this work, which, though not at all equal to Sz-ma Ts'ien's *Shi-ki*, published three centuries later, was in its human interest far ahead of the dry records of the then past. All Chinese history previous to this date is as vague and unsatisfactory as is our own European history previous to the founding of Rome in 753 B.C. The Twelve Tables, which are the foundation of Roman jurisprudence and administrative civilization, date from twenty years after Confucius' death: during the half-century following the death of Confucius and the publication of the Twelve Tables, Herodotus went upon his travels and wrote his history. So far as my own humble researches go, I incline to compare Confucius in some respects with Herodotus, and to place exact Chinese history on a level in point of antiquity with that of Greece and Rome, and no more. Previous to the eighth century B.C. we have skeleton annals, lists of kings, accounts of floods, and narratives of wars in the Chinese world, just as we have in the Babylonian or Egyptian world; with this important difference, that, whereas in China there are no antiquities to speak of which corroborate tradition, in Egypt and Mesopotamia¹ we have innumerable remains in the shape of buildings, mummies, and documentary evidences. Confucius attached no credence to

¹ And now Candia.

the very ancient traditions. He used, indeed, to speak of the Emperors Yao and Shun, who lived 2000 years before him ; and, as we have seen and shall see, there are antiquities of that date in his temple. Then came three hereditary dynasties which lasted 1100 years : then the Imperial dynasty of which his ducal master was a scion. But, though there is no reason to question the existence of these ancient dynasties, the whole of the information obtainable about them amounts to very little of a practical kind.

Confucius spent the few remaining years of his life in collecting the old songs and traditions, the best specimens of which he has transmitted to us ; in fixing the principles of music ; and in establishing forms, ceremonies, and etiquette. His son died four years before him, and this son's relict committed the indelicacy of marrying again. The grandson, then seventeen years of age, was carefully educated by Confucius himself, and subsequently published a system of ethics called the *Doctrine of the Mean*, or *Moderate*, which embodies his grandfather's teachings. Confucius' declining years had already been cheered by a promise from his grandson to this effect. This grandson seems to have been a man of strong, touchy, and obstinate character ; in fact, an unpolished counterpart of Confucius himself.

One day in his seventy-third year Confucius felt exhausted, and had a presentiment that death was near. His last words were the expression of regret that no intelligent rulers existed who could appreciate and utilize his services. He died a week later, and was buried just outside the ducal capital, on the River Sz, the beauty of which river had for generations been sung in the *Book of Odes* or *Songs* transmitted by him to us.

The reader has now before him an outline of Confucius' life. Whilst admitting that he was a very worthy man, one fails to discover any symptoms of extraordinary genius, or any reason for the unlimited admiration in which the Chinese hold him. In his *Miscellaneous Conversations*, a book compiled by disciples, and in those later parts of the royal *Record of Rites* emanating from Confucius and his disciples, we get more precise ideas touching his character. He was a moderate eater, but very particular and nice. He was not a teetotaler, but he never got tipsy. When the mysterious forces of nature

manifested themselves in the shape of storms or thunder, he considered it his duty to sit up with respect ; but he declined to enlarge upon his reasons for so doing. He always said a kind of grace before his frugal meals by offering an oblation : the oriental custom of pouring out a drop of liquor, or scattering a few grains of food before partaking of it, is still in popular vogue. Confucius' own deportment was in consonance with his teachings. He used, giving them a negative turn, almost the exact words so familiar to all Christians : he said, " What you do not wish others to do to you, do not to them." Self-control, modesty, forbearance, patience, kindness, orderliness, absence of effusiveness and passion, studiousness, industry, mildness, dutifulness, neighbourliness, fidelity, uprightness, moderation, politeness, ceremoniousness—these were the qualities which Confucius consistently practised and taught. He laid special stress upon the necessity of cultivating intelligence and alertness. He abominated extremes, and preached the doctrine of the *happy mean* in everything—in short, the doctrine of the Peripatetics ; a sort of machine-like smoothness, with no jerks or surprises, either on the side of virtue or on that of vice. Gloomy asceticism and passionate militancy were alike foreign to his taste. He was neither a theologian nor a metaphysician. He simply saw and understood his countrymen, and went to history for the means of governing them. There was nothing of the fanatic in his composition. Mencius, 200 years later, was the first to qualify him as " holy." But Confucius declined for himself the right to be called a saint, or even a good man. He said : " I am never tired of learning myself, and never weary of teaching others." He did not wish to appear censorious. Though tolerant of old religious or superstitious notions, he did not care to go into questions of future life, extraordinary things, spirits, devils, anarchy, revolution, and mystic doctrines. In the presence of the forces of nature he was, as we have seen, awed but silent ; he declined to discuss what he did not understand : he said, " Heaven does not talk, and yet the four seasons come with regularity." Some writers (including myself) have maintained that Confucianism is no religion at all. Others describe the ancient notions, which Confucius confined himself to criticizing and transmitting, as spirit-worship tending

towards fetichism. What Confucius really did was to arrange ancient ideas in orderly form, and revivify them with notions of his own, just as the old Jewish teachings received fresh inspiration in the form of Christianity. The ancient idea was that there existed a Supreme Power, and that the king or emperor, as a sort of vicegerent, was the only channel of communication with that power. In this capacity the Son of Heaven was a mediator for His people. The worship of private families and individuals was confined to the spirits of deceased ancestors. The adorning of graves by the French on All Souls' Day is perhaps a survival of a once much more universal custom. "To sacrifice to spirits not belonging to a man," says Confucius, "is mere flattery." It has always appeared to me, in short, that the Chinese regarded, and still regard, the next world as being a mere repetition of this, each person in this world addressing himself to those of his own rank and kind in the next. Dr. Legge is of opinion, however, that the lordship of Heaven was, to the Chinese fathers, exactly what the notion of God was to our fathers. Confucius, like every one else, grew up totally ignorant of any world except that in which he found himself. His prudent attitude has led some European divines to brand him outright as a sceptic, who only veiled his disbelief out of deference for antiquity. But that is going too far. He noticed that the imaginations of his fellow men led them to express belief in much that was not evident to him, so he adopted the safe course of admitting nothing but the possible existence, in a form not quite apparent to him, of sentient beings that had already lived in this world. He did not care much about the constituent elements of emotion or intellect. What is popularly known as "German philosophy" had no charms for him. It cannot even be made out whether he thought man's nature good or evil in its origin. He admits that men are naturally born different, but the effects of such initial differences are as nothing compared with the levelling effects of education and training.

Nor was Confucius inclined to split hairs upon the vexed question of sin, or even to speak of sin except in connection with the practical affairs of life. On one occasion he said that, setting aside theft and robbery, there were five capital sins—malignancy, perverseness, mendacity, and two others not very

clearly defined, but which look like vindictiveness and vacillating weakness. Confucius was a believer in the three ancient forms of divination, and an ardent student of certain mystic diagrams dating from 600 years previous to his own birth. I never have been satisfied that these diagrams had any practical meaning ; or, if they had, that the meaning now given to them by curious students expresses what Confucius really had in his mind. Confucius, in short, consulted the popular oracles, as did the Greeks and the Romans. We may disapprove ; but if it was foolish to consult oracles of which he knew nothing, why should it be wiser to make requests to spiritual beings of which he also knew nothing ? Probably Confucius fell in with popular views. One thing is quite certain : whatever Confucius believed in a vague way as to the spiritual form which man took after death, he certainly never conceived any such idea as the doctrine of rewards and punishments. His view, concisely expressed, was that " life and death are a matter of destiny : wealth and honours are disposed by Heaven." In other words, whilst approving individual effort, he counselled patient submission. As he lived 500 years before our era, it is evident that he could not have believed any of our modern dogmas. To this extent, therefore, it may be said that Confucius had no religion, and preached no religion. Like the Persians and Chaldæans, the Chinese and the Tartars had a sort of Sabæan religion, in which worship was offered to the Sun, Moon, and Stars : at times also to other forces of nature, such as wind, the forests, and the rivers. But these beliefs, as also that in divination, may be popular excrescences which have been superadded at a later date upon the more ancient monotheism. Dr. Legge considers that even now this basis of monotheism is no more destroyed by popular additions than is our own monotheism by the worship of saints by large numbers of Christians. Of all the things which we, as Christians, profess to believe, there are only two things which it was reasonably possible for Confucius to believe. He might have believed in a Maker of Heaven and Earth, in the Resurrection of the Body, and in Life Everlasting. But that scarcely amounts to a religion, as nearly all primitive men have had beliefs of this kind. He probably did, in common with the received traditions, more or less vaguely believe in a Supreme Maker, but he

did not attempt to define or dogmatize as to what that Maker was, or how that Maker created. He preferred to discuss the practical character of things before his eyes, and was indifferent to the causes of those things. He says nothing about the future state, but holds that man continues, after what we call death, to live on. The Chinese idea of death differs from ours : thus, a man may die and come to life again ; that is, may lose consciousness and revive : their ignorance of physiology precludes our absolute notion of death. In the same way with the ghost which takes its departure on death : there is always an idea that it is hovering near the body, and may give trouble at any time if not propitiated. There have been endless discussions amongst missionaries as to why Confucius preferred to speak impersonally of Heaven, avoiding the personal form God, and as to whether he believed in the efficacy of prayer. In most cases the arguments appear to me somewhat biased by the personal preconceptions of the polemic ; that is to say, he wishes to prove that, if Confucius was good, it was because he believed what the controversialist believes ; if evil, because he failed to believe what the controversialist believes ; and so on. This is, in fact, the course which the rival schools of Chinese philosophy themselves adopt. Where Confucius is silent, they claim that he expressed in general terms the sentiments expounded by themselves. In other words, they dogmatize. One philosophy pleads for universal love ; another for pure selfishness. As a matter of fact, Confucius steered clear of all positivism ; he said, in fact, that even his " medium policy " was a shifting medium, according to time and circumstances : in short, he was in some respects an opportunist. He objected to commit himself so far as to say the dead were conscious, lest rash sons should waste their substance in sacrifices ; he equally declined to assert that they were unconscious, lest careless sons should not sacrifice at all. At the same time he himself always sacrificed as though the spirits were present.

Some blame Confucius because he was unable to grasp the full nobility of the *Taoist* maxim : " Return good for evil." Confucius took time to consider, and finally decided that evil should be repaid by justice, and good reserved for the recompense of good. His own countrymen find fault with him for glossing over, in his history, the failings of men of rank, worth,

or his own family connection ; and Dr. Legge shows in detail that this is true. It is not for me to sit in judgment upon the judges ; but I would suggest that, however noble the precept enjoining good for evil may be when cherished in the hearts of individuals, a government which should attempt to practise it would soon put the business of state in a sorry condition. Confucius was above all things practical, and considered that confidence in the stability of the state was more important than the adequate alimentation of the people, which again was more vital than the possession of military strength or learning. He said: First enrich your people, and then instruct them. As to the concealing of historical truths, it is hopeless to get men to agree upon this point. Take the modern instances of Carlyle and Cardinal Manning: their biographers, Mr. Froude and Mr. Purcell, for telling too much truth have received as much censure as praise. Confucius' frame of mind may be judged from his reply to a disciple who was in doubt how to act when his master, a feudal prince, was bent on a foolish act: "Oppose him, but deceive him not." That is, do not offend by showing your hand, but do not conceal your hand. What is the use of exposing the weaknesses of those in power? Is it of real advantage to us that Bacon should be proved to have been the meanest as well as the wisest of mankind? The Chinese idea that rulers are the vicegerents of God is tempered by the conviction that bad rulers may be dethroned. Perhaps Confucius thought it better not to rake up slumbering guilt unless it were possible to punish at the same time. At all events, Confucius was loyal to the princely houses, and had no axe of his own to grind: the utmost that can be charged against him is a certain canniness which prefers to be on the safe side ; and, if it must err, then to err on the side of cold prudence rather than on that of warm impulse. As to mere personal defects, perhaps a testiness of temper can be not unfairly charged against him.

It is a little difficult for us, even after stringing together such a galaxy of virtues as we have shown Confucius to have really possessed, to understand the Chinese enthusiasm for his memory. Our own history teaches us to admire manly grace and beauty ; bodily activity and love of nature ; romantic and tender attachment to the gentler sex. Whether we take

military heroes such as Cæsar, Napoleon, Cromwell, Genghis Khan, Gustavus Adolphus; ecclesiastical heroes such as Thomas à Becket, Luther, Wolsey; lay heroes of statecraft such as Cicero, Sully, Talleyrand, Bismarck; philosophers such as Socrates, Marcus Aurelius, Seneca, Locke, Newton, Darwin; lawyers such as Papinian, Tribonian, Cujas, Coke; or poets such as Virgil, Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, we find no complete character in any way resembling that of Confucius: perhaps the nearest approach is Socrates. Even the founders of our principal religions, including those of Buddhism and Mahometanism, have very little of Confucius in their attitude; notwithstanding that in the two instances of Christianity and Buddhism the qualities which have secured the reverence of hundreds of millions are in many respects precisely the qualities possessed by Confucius. Confucius commands the regard of the European critics; but somehow it always seems that he does not secure a full measure of respect. He certainly was not a handsome man; his heavy round back, long ears, projecting teeth, and misshapen head were scarcely heroic; he disliked to discuss athletic sports; his habit of moving about in a springless ox-cart, or when on foot with his arms extended like wings, scarcely suggests perfect dignity to us; his skill as a musician would perhaps appeal more strongly to our sympathy if we were ignorant of modern Chinese music: at the same time, there is reason to believe that much of the ancient theory and science of music has been lost. It is certain that a custom existed of collecting popular ballads for purposes of government record. Many of the ancient ballads are very beautiful and simple, besides being perfectly comprehensible to the modern ear. We may therefore assume that Confucius possessed genuine bardic feeling. His treatment of women was rather contemptuous, and he says almost nothing about marriage; his love for truth was, as we have seen, occasionally tempered by prudence. His fondness for forms, ceremonies, and, above all, for funerals and mourning is not at all in our line. But here, again, a due show of grief at the loss of a parent only forms a continuous chain with the filial obedience required during life, and solemn sacrifices after death. In short, we can only account for the unmeasured reverence which Confucius has

secured in the hearts of his countrymen by slightly modifying the words of Lord Beaconsfield, who remarked that "every country possessed the government it deserves," and by suggesting that China possesses the teacher she deserves; or, to put the matter into a more subjective light, by suggesting that, when a great teacher or prophet appears, the mere fact that he is recognized as a prophet or as an instrument of Heaven connotes the circumstance that he is suitable to the people who believe in him and recognize him. If we have a difficulty in appreciating Confucianism to the full, the Chinese have a similar difficulty with our beliefs, which often appear to them somewhat absurd. An able Chinese priest,¹ who twenty years ago published a very learned critical work upon comparative religions, thus sums up in his native tongue the attributes of Confucius: "Although Confucius taught the necessity of reverence and disinterested charity, he had no true belief in a self-existing Creator of an organized universe; no faith in promised grace to come, or in eternal life; no true love of God as a Perfect Being above and superior to all things; no true fear of God as the Supreme and Sole Ruler of the universe; and no true obedience to His commandments." Professor Tiele, of Leyden, treats the worship of spirits and nature as though the ancient religion were not monotheistic; but Dr. Legge, in criticizing this view, defends Confucius from the charge of animism and fetichism in their most unfavourable sense.

Others, again, have charged Confucius with cold-blooded eudæmonism, that is with only insisting upon virtue because it leads to temporal happiness. What Confucius said was: "He who heaps up goodness shall have much happiness," and *vice versâ*. I must confess I do not see anything very terrible in this; but it is evident that argument upon so abstract a point might last for ever. He declined to pray for recovery when he was sick, but he did this in such a dubious way that the commentators and the missionaries have not yet come to an understanding upon what he really thought on the subject of prayer. Dr. Edkins considers that, in the absence of Christian revelation to serve him as a guide to belief in the doctrine of rewards and punishments, Confucius did the next

¹ The late Père Hoang.

best and noblest thing, by maintaining the impartiality of moral retribution and the immortality of good fame. In this view he seems to be supported by Dr. Legge.

The city which contains the dwelling of Confucius is now called in the northern dialects K'üh-fu Hien, which, as we have said, means "Crooked Mound City." It is stated to lie a mile and a half to the west of the ancient capital of the ducal state of Lu, whose rulers Confucius served. It is described by those who have seen it as being a small neat city, surrounded, as is customary in China, by high walls; like the walls of Chester, but more solid; and pierced by four gates, with broad towers and guard-houses above them. The eastern part of the city contains the temple erected to Confucius' chief disciple by the Mongols 500 years ago. The south gate is double, which really makes up a total of five gates; but the westernmost of the two south gates is reserved for the visits of Imperial personages, and this gate leads straight up to the temple and palace, which together occupy half the city area; that is, the northern and western quarters: the palace, which adjoins the temple, includes the site of Confucius' old house, in the hollow walls of which were concealed, in the year 212 B.C., when the so-called "First Emperor" of united China ordered the destruction of all the works on history and philosophy, a number of manuscripts and classical works. During the Taiping rebellion of nearly sixty years ago the city was threatened, but only because the rebels wished in a general way to put all mandarins to death: hearing that the local mandarin was of the Confucian family, they did no harm to the town beyond massacring a number of people who had taken refuge in the cemetery. The majority of the inhabitants of the city, including the executive and educational mandarins, bear the family name of Confucius, or K'ung, and there would seem to be about 20,000 of them in or near the ancestral city, and perhaps 10,000 scattered about elsewhere, chiefly in the province of Chêh Kiang, south of the Great River, whither during a period of schism the chief representative once migrated: the Golden Tartars appointed a northern duke of their own, but the Mongols put an end to this duality.

The ducal palace, which Mr. Markham states is actually on the site of Confucius' house, is on the east side of the temple, of which the duke is always *ex-officio* guardian: it and the palace

together cover about fifty-five acres of magnificently wooded grounds. The temple is open to the public, except on the anniversaries of ducal deaths, which are locally observed as *dies nefasti*. A public thoroughfare divides the temple into northern and southern halves, most of the objects of interest being in the northern division. The palace has its own separate enclosure of high walls, and in accordance with Chinese custom is divided into courts or squares. The duke, who was surrounded by a staff of tall and exceedingly well clad retainers, admitted Mr. Markham through the grand central gate, and in company with his guardian, lay steward, and relatives stood awaiting him in the third court : this is the way foreign officials are commonly received by Chinese mandarins ; but at one time it was difficult to make the higher ranks of them open the central gate. The dukes have estates in several of the prefectures of Shan Tung province, amounting in all to about 60,000 English acres. Besides this landed wealth, they receive a large pension from the government.

The grounds of the temple alone cover thirty-five acres, and are remarkable for their splendid avenues of cedar, fir, cypress, and yew trees. The southern half consists of parks or gardens, and contains many pavilions, tablets, bridges, etc. ; it has four gates. The main temple, in the northern division, is somewhat inconsistently stated by Mr. Markham to be built upon the spot where Confucius actually lived, and is composed of twelve squares, each shut off by its own massive gate and containing its own hall. The grand hall is in the third court, and stands behind a gorgeous red-roofed pavilion, open at the four sides, called the " Apricot Altar," in commemoration of a place where Confucius used to teach : twelve stone steps lead up to the platform upon which the hall is built, which measures about 100 feet deep by 150 broad, and which surrounds the hall like a verandah, leaving a margin on each side under the eaves of 15 feet : the verandah itself is surrounded by a beautifully carved railing. Eighteen white monolith marble pillars, deeply carved with dragons, 25 feet high, and each 3 feet in diameter, support the front of the great hall, which is also surrounded by a deep verandah. The total height from the ground is as nearly as possible 80 feet. Eighteen alternately black and white marble pillars support the after part, and

eighteen variegated black and white marble pillars, nine on each side, make up the circuit. The hall is divided into nine compartments. The roof is of green- and yellow-glazed porcelain tiles, green being used in Peking for the palaces of princes, and yellow for that of the Emperor: in the case of Confucius' temple the green predominates, although on several occasions Imperial honours have been for a short period conferred upon the Sage by over-enthusiastic emperors: the eaves are beautifully carved and painted, being protected by wire netting from birds; but by ancient custom the enormous number of bats which congregate in the roofs are left undisturbed. The roof is supported inside by twenty uncarved pillars of teak, each 4 feet in diameter, and thickly painted a bright vermilion colour. The ceiling is panelled in 400 squares, gilded and ornamented with dragons. Innumerable wooden tablets in honour of the Sage adorn the roof. On a raised throne, enclosed by richly-embroidered yellow satin curtains, facing the spacious door, sits the enormous effigy of Confucius, over 15 feet high, holding a bamboo scroll in his hand; for in his time paper had not yet been invented. On the table in front of the image are placed some of the gifts made by emperors of successive dynasties, together with relics of the Sage. Several of the bronzes and clay dishes are over a thousand, indeed over two thousand, years old; and many of the urns, enamels, and tripods are exceedingly fine. The rosewood table actually used by Confucius is amongst the relics, together with two bronze elephants of the royal dynasty under which his ducal master nominally ruled. I must mention here that images are as foreign to true Confucianism as they are to Mahometanism, and the interior ought in strict right to be as simple as that of a mosque; the chief Arabic inscription, in fact, occupying much the same place that the ancient Chinese name tablet does. The introduction of images into Confucian temples is a Buddhist innovation, and simply marks one of the numerous compromises between the two cults; but it is not permitted to place images of the Sage in Buddhist or *Taoist* temples: in the case of Confucius the regulation tablet is placed above the image, and is marked "The resting-place of the Holy Sage Confucius' spirit." Most of the carved black marble slabs which panel the hall are an imitation of the Buddhist style,



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THE "SOUL TABLE" OF THE SAGE, AS IT STANDS IN HIS TEMPLE.

[To face p. 218.]

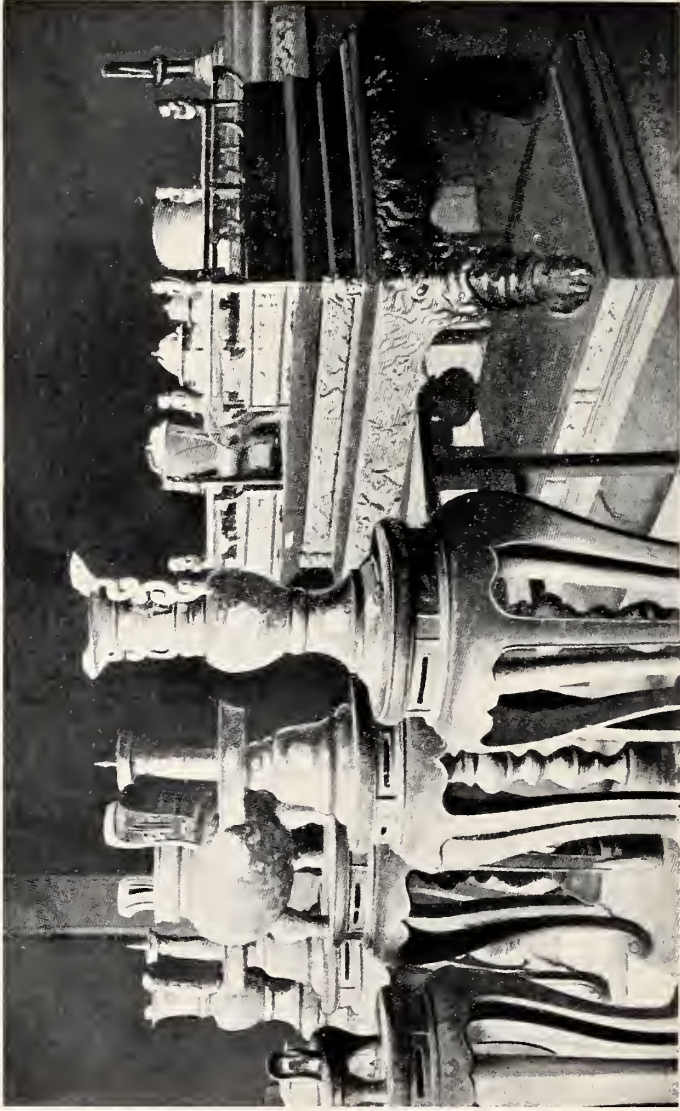
and represent scenes in the philosopher's career. One of the slabs, however, contains a portrait said to have been taken during Confucius' life, but it is now very indistinct. In this same hall are statues of Confucius' son, grandson, twelve favourite disciples, and Mencius; and at each of the two sides of it, in the courtyard, are rooms, seventy-two in all, in honour of each disciple. Each of these persons has a history, some emperors adding to, others reducing, the numbers of those qualified to share in the worship rendered to Confucius, or to his system of philosophy.

The other halls in the temple precincts are in honour of Confucius' father, of whom there is an image; his mother and wife, to whose memory there are tablets; his son and grandson; Mencius; and the four leading disciples, all with tablets only, in orthodox style. The remains of an old cypress or juniper tree, planted by Confucius himself, are shown; also the well out of which he drank, and a very much worn slab of black marble giving a genealogical tree for the seventy-seven generations. The temple was built over a thousand years ago, but has of course been frequently repaired, the last time, according to Mr. Markham, in 1864, or since that date. However, I have in my possession an official letter from the Governor of Shan Tung to the Emperor, stating that it had been repaired in 1869, the very year of Mr. Markham's visit. Twenty-five years ago part of the palace was burnt down, but the officials and gentry of China soon subscribed a sum to rebuild it. In the correspondence upon the subject it is stated that the buildings destroyed were constructed about 1550, and repaired about 1840.

There still remains the cemetery, which is on the banks of the River Sz, a good mile to the north of the city, from the gate of which runs for 2600 yards a noble avenue of two thousand old cypress or cedar and yew trees planted at intervals, about 500 years ago, by the Ming dynasty. Of course these trees are emblematic of immortality or imperishability. The road is beautified by numerous bridges and honorary portals, more, however, for ornament than to serve any useful purpose. Half-way up the avenue are two handsome pavilions, erected 300 years ago by the last Chinese dynasty. The cemetery, described 1000 years ago as lying between the Rivers Sz and

Chu, a third of a mile from the older city, is a densely-wooded enclosure of fifty acres, surrounded by high walls: the only gate is on the south side. A writer of the fifth century gives the then area as sixteen English acres. For some unexplained reason the avenue of pines which runs north towards the tomb does not run directly from the gate, but turns round at a point a hundred yards or so from the gate to the west. The second avenue is lined on each side by stone figures of lions, elephants, leopards, unicorns, camels, and two human figures. At the north end of the pine-tree avenue the road turns west, and the second avenue begins where the road divides, at a small historical stream called the Chu, or "Red" River, into two bridges. Ordinary visitors are directed to dismount here, as they would do in approaching an Imperial edifice. The easternmost bridge leads to the modern cemetery, in which each member of the six or seven thousand existing Confucian families has a right to be buried. The heads of the clan alone have mounds and stone figures: the others mere slabs. The western bridge leads to a large hall, without image or tablet, in which the family offer sacrifices twice a year, and the back door of which faces the tomb. The tomb enclosure is walled off from the general cemetery above mentioned, and contains only the graves of Confucius, his son, and his grandson. These are simply three mounds covered with brushwood, those of the son and grandson being west and east in front, and that of the philosopher occupying the farther or north-west corner. The Sage's mound was described 1400 years ago as being 50 feet by 75, and 12 feet high. It is now about 35 feet in diameter and 20 feet high; in front of it are a carved stone table, a stone urn, and a stone tablet 25 feet high, the last inscribed in ancient character with the words, "The Most Holy Sage and Princely Disseminator of Literature." To the west is a neat but modest little house built to commemorate the reed hut in which Confucius' most faithful disciple (the one who painted his portrait) mourned for his master six years.

Readers of Marco Polo will remember that he often speaks of burning the dead in China. Buddhist priests are still cremated, but Confucius was properly buried, in accordance with the patriarchal customs then prevalent over the greater part of north and west Asia.



By permission of Père Tschepé, S.J.]

THE ALTAR FOR OFFERINGS IN HONOUR OF CONFUCIUS, AS IT NOW STANDS IN THE HOUSE OF
HIS 76TH LINEAL DESCENDANT.

Some of the Europeans who have visited the temple at Confucius' village have described the ceremonies and the worship, but it does not appear that any have actually seen them performed: at Shanghai, and perhaps at other of the treaty ports, foreigners have witnessed the local sacrifices, which are of course on a smaller scale; but in every instance the chief civil authority, accompanied by the military subordinates as well as his own, acts as a sort of high priest; this term, however, is not approved by Dr. Legge, whether applied to the Emperor or to others. A slow time dance, something after the fashion of our minuets, is performed by fifty youths, and meanwhile the six bands, each of six players, discourse shrill music. The airs are the same as those played in Confucius' time. The *suovetaurilia* and other symbolical offerings stand on tables, between the incense vase flanked by two candles upon the altar and a roll of spotless white silk spread out upon the floor, the last ready for burning before the Sage's tablets, after the departure of the spirit. But the offerings are mere expressions of devotion, in no way intended as expiations of sin. The high priest arrives at dawn, and is supposed, as in ancestor-worship, to have fasted and contemplated for three days. The adoration which I saw offered to the Emperor of Annam in the spring of 1893, with its hymns, kneelings, and knockings, seems to correspond in most particulars, with the exception of the dance, to the worship of Confucius. Accordingly, the fact that in China, and in the States of her subordinate neighbours, the so-called worship is offered to the living as well as the dead points to a radical divergence of idea, and exemplifies once more that these ceremonies approach rather the Byzantine idea of lay adoration than the Christian sentiment of religious worship. Confucius was as far as possible from regarding himself as a prophet, not to say a god. In using the expression "Heaven gave birth to what virtue is in me," he distinctly recognizes himself as a created being, and one owing duty as such to a higher than himself. To a certain extent he considered himself to be an instrument or expounder of this higher being. No prayer is offered to Confucius, nor is his assistance sought in any way; and, it may here be added, a Tartar dynasty 1400 years ago prohibited the vulgar innovation, then being introduced by barren women, of seeking his mediation in their favour.

Confucius is simply worshipped as one who codified learning ; as a sort of re-embodiment of the Duke of Chou, civil founder of the first truly historical Imperial dynasty, whose memory was worshipped in Confucius' time both at the Imperial and ducal capitals, and whose tomb still lies near to that of Confucius. The worship offered to the Duke of Chou was simply a repetition of that which had always been offered to the *manes* of China's best emperors, who were what Sir Henry Maine describes (in ancient western history and law) as simply the *Themistes* or Assessors of the Deity, whether called Zeus or Ti. Or the sacrifices may be regarded as being made to them as earliest inventors or founders. Thus, one is worshipped as the founder of agriculture, another as the discoverer of the silk worm, and so on. When we come to think of the importance of writing in the world, we have less difficulty in revering Confucius as a practical "discoverer" of records and history.

PART IV

ARRIVAL OF BUDDHISM BY WAY OF THE
INDO-SCYTHIAN EMPIRE
OF THE OXUS

CHAPTER I

CHINESE BUDDHISM

THE Chinese official histories give a very plain and straightforward account of the origin of Buddhism in China. Europeans, missionary or other, whose knowledge of Chinese literature has enabled them to tell the story to the Western world, have not been able to add many, if any, new matters of fact. The utmost they have been able to do is to co-ordinate or re-group the statements made by the Chinese, and perhaps here and there to corroborate an ambiguous or incomplete assertion by comparing it with testimony obtainable in India or elsewhere. So far from adding anything new in the way of evidence, they have at times rather confused the issues by obtruding amongst simple statements of fact their own energetic expressions of opinion, too often the result of either historical bias or religious zeal. I now venture to give an amended account, in more cursive and readable form, for the use, and I hope the entertainment, of those who are not specialists.

In the year A.D. 62 the Emperor of China had a dream or a vision. It appeared to his imagination that a golden man, with a bright light in the crown of his head, had flown into the palace hall. The Emperor promptly mentioned this incident to his courtiers, on which one of them, whose name was Fu Ngi, suggested that "it must be *Fou-t'u*." (These two syllables are merely the modern Pekingese way of pronouncing what in many Chinese dialects still sounds like *Vudu*, and what was then intended to represent *Budh*, as is easily provable by comparison with other ancient foreign words expressed in Chinese hieroglyphs.) Then it was that the name Buddha first appeared in China; or, what is practically the same thing, was recognized by responsible persons capable of recording official

facts. It was explained to the Emperor that Budh was the name of a divinity in western parts, on which a mission to T'ien-chuh or India was at once organized in order to find out more about this mysterious Buddhism.

The next question is : How much did the Chinese then know of India ? The answer is as follows : In 129 B.C. a Chinese political envoy had succeeded, after many perils, in making his way to the state of Ta Hia (Bactriana), south of the River Wei, or Kwei (Oxus). There he noticed certain articles in the bazaars which seemed to be of Chinese provenance. He discovered from the traders of Bactria that they were in the habit of trading with a country " several thousand *li* " to their south-east, called Shên-tuh, where they often bought such articles. (Three *li* go to a mile.) The customs of life prevailing in Shên-tuh were very similar to those of Bactria. The capital was on a great river ; the land was flat, damp, and hot ; the people were settled in habit, and elephants were used in battle. These, based on hearsay, are the only statements of fact regarding Shên-tuh, which, called later T'ien-tuh and T'ien-chuh, is clearly provable to mean North India. But Chang K'ien, the celebrated envoy in question, went on shrewdly to suggest to the Emperor that the alleged position of Shên-tuh, south-east of Bactria, pointed logically to a trade and a neighbourhood with the remoter parts of recently assimilated South-western China. This view seemed so obviously correct that the Emperor at once proceeded to complete the half-abandoned conquest of South-west China with a view of reaching his coveted political ally, Bactria, by way of this strange India, and of thus escaping the attacks of Tartar hordes upon the Central Asian trade and mission route, now discovered *for the first time*. About 119 B.C. Chang K'ien was sent on a second mission to the West, but this time he himself got no farther than the region of Issyk-kul and modern Ili. However, before returning to China, he sent members of his large suite on sub-missions to Bactria, Parthia, Khoten, Shên-tuh, and other states. These envoys dribbled back a year after the return and death of Chang K'ien in or about 115 B.C. ; but there is no record of what they did or saw, except the statement that they brought native return missions back with them to China. One thing is quite certain : the *Shi-ki*, or first great Chinese

history, published about 90 B.C. (recently translated word for word by Professor Edouard Chavannes), makes no mention whatever of Buddha or Buddhism; and it is distinctly stated therein that Chang K'ien never went to India.

How, then, did Fu Ngi, 150 years later, in suggesting "Buddhism," happen to know anything about it? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to mention Pan Ku, the author (died A.D. 92) of the second great historical work, the History of the Earlier Han Dynasty (206 B.C. to A.D. 24), which takes us down over a century later than the *Shi-ki*. In the special chapter of the Later Han (A.D. 25-220) History devoted to Fu Ngi, it is stated that the son and grandson, successors in turn of the Emperor who had first heard the name Budh from that officer, appointed Fu Ngi, in association with Pan Ku, to make various researches into literature, and later on to undertake certain military duties (A.D. 89). Now this Pan Ku was, as we have seen, under the Later Han Dynasty (A.D. 25-220), the author of the Early Han History (206 B.C. to A.D. 24); and his brother, Pan Ch'ao, was the celebrated general who, when a student, "threw down his pen, and vowed he would emulate Chang K'ien with his sword." Between A.D. 77 and 101, Pan Ch'ao re-established for the Later Han Dynasty the waning influence of China created in Central Asia by the Early Han Dynasty. His conquests brought him at least twice into actual collision with the Yüeh-chi (or earlier Ephthalites, who had now driven Greek and Parthian influence entirely out of the Indo-Pamir region). With them he fought several keenly-contested battles in order to secure exclusive Chinese influence over those states, east of the Pamir, which correspond with modern Kashgar, Yarkand, and Kuche, and to keep the Yüeh-chi well west of the Pamir. But Pan Ku has even less to say about India than Sz-ma Ts'ien, the author of the *Shi-ki*, or first great history, already alluded to above. Under the name of T'ien-tuh, it is only casually mentioned as lying to the south of a state called P'i-shan, which, from the positions given, cannot be far from the Karakoram Pass or Baltistan. He never so much as mentions Buddha or Buddhism.

We have seen that the Indo-Persian states sent return missions to China in the wake of Chang K'ien's agents of 115 B.C., and (although after that date Chinese arms made

themselves felt rather in the Caspian than the Pamir region) there can be little doubt that the three roads to the West (*viâ* Hami, Kuche, and Khoten respectively) were kept open in sections by the traders interested, if not continuously by the government. Hence it is extremely probable that intelligent Chinese occasionally went to the Indus, and that intelligent Indo-Scyths occasionally came to China. This likelihood is strengthened by the following important official statement. It appears that the first history of the Wei Dynasty (220–265), which succeeded the Later Han, was published before the history of the Later Han Dynasty (25–220) which that Wei Dynasty thus succeeded. This said first Wei history is called the *Wei Lioh*, or “Outline of Wei.” Unfortunately for science, it has perished, for in it are to be found by far the greatest number of novel statements about the Far West, the source of which must necessarily have been the Han archives. Such fragments of it as remain exist only in the form of notes to other histories; one of these, the *Wei Chî*, or “Wei Records,” being the standard history of the self-same Wei Dynasty. This second Wei History also was published 150 years before the Later Han History, and therefore it is entitled to a certain precedence over the latter, although the latter treats of an earlier period. But it must be remembered that histories, no matter when composed, are in China made up of records which were stored up safely somewhere during the period subsequently described; and though there are several cases where such records have been deliberately destroyed, there do not seem to be any instances where records have been invented on a wholesale scale, or unnecessarily supplemented from secondary sources.

Well, this *Wei Lioh* contains the following very remarkable statement (Chapter XXX., p. 29, of the *Wei Chî*): “The Lin-êrh country’s Fou-t’u *sûtra* says that the king of that state had one Fou-t’u born to him. Fou-t’u was his heir. His father was called Sieh-t’ou-ya (S’uddhô-dana); his mother Mâyâ. . . . In T’ien-chuh there also was a divine man named Sha-lüh. In past times, in the first year of the [Early] Han Emperor Ai’s period Yüan-shou (2 B.C.), the official scholar King-Lu received by oral transmission from I-ts’un, sent by the King of Great Yüeh-chî, the following from the Fou-t’u *sûtra*: ‘He who shall be set up again, that is that man.’”

Sinologists, or "doctors in Chinese," of course differ as to what this enigmatical passage, suggestive of a messiah of some sort, actually means. Was the divine man Sha-lüh in any way connected with the words that follow? Who was he? Did the king of Great Yüeh-chi send an envoy to China, or did he send a messenger to King-Lu when the latter was in Bactria? Or might the words I-ts'un (meaning "him" and "to keep") *not* be a personal name; might it not rather be that King-Lu received from the king, who caused *him* to *keep* them in his memory from dictation, these mystic words? None of these refinements, however, touch the main facts, which are (1) that in 2 B.C. the King (who, from the date given, must have been Kadphises) was the moving agent, and King-Lu was the passive agent in conveying certain words; and (2) that the *sûtras* from Lin-êrh country are the sole authority for the story. I may mention that Lin-p'i (not Lin-êrh) is the way a later commentator upon the *Shi-ki* writes the word, and there is some reason to surmise that both may be mistakes for K'a-p'i, or Kapilavastu. To judge of this, it is, of course, necessary to scan the Chinese character forms. Moreover, King-Lu is called Ts'in King-hien in the Toba History (386-534), and the characters *hien, lu* might easily be confounded. Finally, the *Sui Shu* says: "Ts'in King caused I-ts'un to communicate by word of mouth the Fou-t'u *sûtra*. China, on hearing of it, did not believe."

But, apart from the obscurities of the text itself, *which no longer exists in original*, it must be pointed out that neither Buddha nor *sûtras* had been officially heard of when the Emperor's dream took place. It is not impossible that Fu Ngi, in A.D. 62, based his interpretation of the dream upon documents, dated 2 B.C., which later on also furnished a basis for the *Wei Lioh* statement in A.D. 265; but that is a mere assumption. So far as I can see, there is absolutely no ground for believing that Buddhism ever, in any form, gained the Chinese ear before A.D. 62, except in so far as Fu Ngi *may* at that date have, in his literary researches, come across statements *like the above*, which in or about A.D. 265 found their way, as we see, into the *Wei Lioh*.

The Toba (North China Tartar) History alludes to another matter which has caused some Chinese, and *a fortiori* many Europeans, to suppose that Buddhism had made its way to

China long before A.D. 62, simply because the Toba History says of it: "This would appear to be the first drifting in of the Buddhist principles." When the Chinese Emperor and Chang K'ien were, as is repeatedly stated, *for the first time* discovering the existence of a road to the West, the territory of one of the Hiung-nu princes (corresponding to the present Liang-chou region, north-east of Kokonor) was (121 B.C.) incorporated with China. The Hiung-nu prince was killed, and the "gold man" he was said by some to have used in the worship of Heaven was brought to the palace and placed with images of other notables; "but it was not worshipped with sacrifice; only incense was burnt before it, and obeisance made." The prince's son was taken captive with his mother and employed as a horse-boy, and, having attracted the Emperor's favourable attention, subsequently received the family name of "Gold," from the fact of the gold man having belonged to his father. When his mother died, the Emperor had her portrait placed in the palace, too, and inscribed it "The Queen of . . ." These facts are clearly related in the *Shi-ki* and *Han Shu* without suggestion of Buddha.

Of course, as the Hiung-nu prince of Hiu-t'u (or, more correctly, Hiu-ch'u) in question (whose ancestor appears to have been moved by the Emperor from modern Shen Si farther to the north-west immediately after the first Chinese conquests over the Hiung-nu in 214 B.C.) lived immediately contiguous to the territory originally occupied by the Yüeh-chi (who were driven by the Hiung-nu to the Oxus in or about 165 B.C.), it is possible to imagine that relations between the Hiung-nu and the Yüeh-chi were never entirely severed; but as the Greek King "Milanda," or Menander of Bactria, 120-95 B.C. (who is supposed to have been one of the earliest converts to Buddhism in those parts), was only just being driven out of Bactria by the Yüeh-chi or Kushans when China, thousands of miles farther east, captured the golden man, it is rather a strong assumption to make that the Hindoos converted the Greeks, the Greeks were ejected by the Kushans, and the easternmost Hiung-nu were converted by the westernmost Kushans, over a desert space of about 3000 miles, too; and all this within a couple of years. The *Sui Shu* (581-618) simply says: "Before Han times Buddhism had not been bruited in China. Some



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AUTUMN FESTIVAL SACRIFICE AT A BUDDHIST TEMPLE
IN KALGAN.

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say it had spread long before, and had been obliterated during the events of the Ts'in period (221-207 B.C.)."

There is a foolish story, mentioned on doubtful Chinese authority by European writers, of certain ascetics from the West, armed with books and opinions, having come to the kingdom of Ts'in in 250 B.C. ; but as the King of Ts'in, on conquering China, proceeded to bury nearly all the books and nearly all the talking or writing men in a big hole (213 B.C.), these hypermythical Buddhists, even if it can be supposed they came before the first " passage to the West was bored " at all by Chang K'ien, were most certainly tumbled along with their sermons into the King of Ts'in's famous holocaust, and must have " pulled the hole in " after them. The Toba History even goes out of its way to say that the celebrated scholar Liu Hin (employed about 20 B.C. to recover as much as possible of the destroyed literature) makes no mention whatever of Buddhism. It is probably to these yarns that the " some say " of the *Sui Shu* refers. We might equally well maintain that Scotchmen were probably known in China then ; for the Gauls must have captured many Britons, and the Romans may have taken them from the Gauls, passed them on as slaves to Alexander, who of course lost them to Darius, who lent them to Bessus, who sold them to the Scythians, who traded them off to China, etc., etc. The main difference between " civilized " men and savages is that the first-named alone *record* facts necessarily common to both : in the same way the main difference between recorded facts and speculative nonsense is that the first only can be established by evidence, either scientific or written.

* * * * *

Now, having cleared away rubbish, we go back to our dream. The Emperor of China, on hearing of Buddhism for the first time, in A.D. 62, at once equipped a mission to go to India. Unfortunately we have no details concerning the route followed ; but we may safely conclude that it was the most southerly of the three—*i. e. via* Khoten and Yarkand. Between the fall of the Early and the full rise of the Later Han—say A.D. 1 to 40—the Little Bucharia states, with the exception of So-kü (Yarkand), had all fallen back into Hiung-nu hands, until Khoten in turn succeeded in conquering Yarkand, and in

creating a great, if ephemeral, empire, extending from the Pamirs right up to Kokonor. Until Pan Ch'ao's conquests (75-95), which never overstepped the present bounds of China, the Emperor's envoys to India must have sought protection from Khoten and Yarkand. Be that as it may, in two or three years the three emissaries returned from their travels with a huge standing image of Buddha and forty-two chapters of *sûtras*. They were accompanied by two Hindoos named Kâs'yapa Mâtanga and (in unrecognizable Chinese dress) Chuh-fah-lan, *i. e.* Fah-lan from [T'ien-chuh] or India. As their baggage was packed on a white horse, the improvised monastery which was set apart by the Emperor for their accommodation was called the White Horse Monastery. This was at the new or Later Han capital of China, Loh-yang, the modern Ho-nan Fu. The two Indians set to work vigorously to learn Chinese and make translations. As the Toba History says: "These were the first *sramana* to come to China, and this was the first introduction of the kneeling worship."

It is to be noted that one of the three Chinese emissaries in A.D. 62 was named Ts'in King, which is exactly the same as the first, two-thirds the same as the second, and half the same as the third of the three conflicting names given to the man who in 2 B.C. had received a mysterious communication from Kadphises. This uncomfortable coincidence throws further doubt upon the genuineness of the latter story, and makes us suspect that these two Indian *sramana*, whilst translating in A.D. 67, first drew their Chinese colleagues' attention to a statement about China found in a Kapilavastu *sûtra*, and that this statement has in some way got mutilated and misdated in its passage into Chinese.

No sooner had the cart-load of books arrived than the Emperor's favourite brother, the prince of Ts'u, became a convert. The chapter devoted to his life describes him as a young man who was as fond in youth of conviviality as in later years he was of *Taoist* and Buddhist exercises; of prayers, fastings, etc. Thus *Taoism*, almost the oldest Chinese philosophy, after being first degraded by alchemy, and then to a large extent superseded by Confucianism, had now, together with its successful rival, to contend with a third aspirant in the shape of Buddhism. At first the Emperor, though aware of them,

took no serious view of his brother's antics ; but after a few years there were politico-social troubles in which some ill-defined superstitious or religious imprudences of Prince Ts'u were involved, and the result was that he committed suicide (A.D. 71). This misfortune had the indirect effect of discrediting Buddhism at the very outset. The circumstances of it all have been considerably misapprehended, both as to facts and dates, by Chinese as well as European authors, who have first of all confused Fu Ngi with Prince Ts'u ; and, secondly, the Emperor Ming with his successor, the Emperor Chang. Even the Toba History has a few mistakes, which the *Sui Shu* has evidently copied. The above is, I believe, the correct version.

For nearly a century after the discovery and rapid collapse of Buddhism, which were all comprised within a period of ten years, nothing more was heard of it officially ; nor did the very few Chinese dealings with the south-road states extend south beyond Khoten and Sarikol. According to a statement by the late Dr. Eitel, the Amitâbha *sûtra* was brought to China in A.D. 147 from the "head-quarters of the Tochari Tartars," by which he means the Great Yüeh-chi. In A.D. 147 the Emperor Hwan ascended the throne : besides being an excellent musician, this monarch discovered a predilection for the mysteries of both Buddhism and *Taoism*. This latter philosophy had already been so sadly adulterated with alchemistic charlatanism as to have become unrecognizable, and it had just been reconstituted by the first of the *Taoist* "popes." It is stated in the Later Han History that this Emperor Hwan constructed sheds or covered platforms for Fou-t'u worship ; and the *Sui Shu* states that an An-sih (Parthian) *sramana*, named An-tsing, brought some *sûtras* to Loh-yang, where he translated them very well ; but I can find no evidence that any other foreign priests came to China, as stated by Père Hoang and the late Mr. T. Watters. *Missions* from India (T'ien-chuh) are, however, recorded in 159 and 161. It is added that they came *viâ* Indo-China ; that India traded with Ta-ts'in (part of the Roman Empire) ; and that in 166 An-tun (Antoninus), King of Ta-ts'in, also sent a mission *viâ* Indo-China. The inference is therefore rather strong that there were not many such priests, for a statesman named Siang Kiai is represented in the Toba History as having explained to the Han Emperor that the principles of Foh-t'o (a

new way of spelling, equivalent to Vut-dha) and Lao-tsz inculcated the sparing of life, the extinction of extravagance and passion, etc. If Western priests had been there in force, these explanations, not to say the mention of Lao-tsz, would have been out of place.

The *Sui Shu* says that during the reign of the next emperor, Ling (167-189), a Yüeh-chi (Kushan) *sramana* named Chi (= Yüeh-chi) Ts'ien, and a T'ien-chuh (*Hindoo*) *sramana* named Chuh (= T'ien-chuh) Foh-shoh, translated some *sûtras*, the former's translation of the Nirvâna being particularly good.

During the reign of the last monarch of this Later Han Dynasty (189-220), the empire was in process of dissolution and division. The following statement from the *Sui Shu* is interesting: "At the close of the Han Dynasty, a prefect named Chuh Yung also showed reverence for the law of Buddha." I am disposed to think that the founder of the southern kingdom of Wu, who was a strong Buddhist, was already in practically independent possession of the lower Yangtze valley. I find a statement in a work of the eleventh century, published by a Buddhist priest named Hwei-hung, to the effect that An-shi-kao, the son of the King of Parthia, and a priest to boot, came to China between A.D. 185 and 190. This may possibly be the An Tsing (An = An-sih or Parthia, *i. e.* Arsac), who came in the Emperor Hwan's reign (146-167). Probably these events have something to do with the otherwise unsupported statement of Mr. Watters, that between the years 168 and 190 "more monks arrived from the country of the Getæ (Viddhal) and from India, and translated the Nirvâna and other *sûtras* with great fidelity." By "Getæ (Viddhal)" Mr. Watters of course means our old friends the Yüeh-chi—*i. e.* the Kushans, or Ephthalites.

China was now for half-a-century divided into three rival empires, which may be roughly described as that of the Yellow River valley and all north of it, that of the Yangtze valley and all south of it, and that of the Yangtze gorges and all west of them. The first of these empires was called Wei, that being the ancient name of its central tract; the second Wu, for the same reason; the third Shuh, the ancient name of the rich River Min plains in Sz Ch'wan. It was under the first real emperor of the Wei Dynasty at Loh-yang that

Chinese were first allowed to shave the head and become "bonzes" (this word itself, apparently, a corruption, through the Japanese *bo-dzu*, of the Chinese words *Fou-t'u*). A foreign *sramana* is stated to have successfully remonstrated when the first Emperor (220-226) wished to destroy a pagoda near the palace. (It is to be noted that the word *Foh-t'u* (= *Vut-dh*) is extended to include the ideas "priest" and "pagoda.") An Indian *sramana*, whose name in its Chinese dress seems to stand for (?) Dharmkagara, translated the *Book of Disciplines*, "which," says the Toba account, "is the first we hear of disciplines in China." The old White Horse Monastery was completely rebuilt and redecorated "in old Hindoo style" (with pagodas in uneven numbers of storeys, from one to nine), models of which were sent to other places: the people called them *fou-t'u* or *foh-t'u*. "In Han times the *sramana* had all worn red clothing; now it was changed to mixed colours." It is to be noticed that in the *res gestæ* chapters of the *Wei Ch'i* it is stated, under the year 229, that the King of the Great Yüeh-chi, whose name in its Chinese form is *Po-t'iao*, sent envoys to the new Wei empire, and received the title of "The Wei King of Great Yüeh-chi." In the same year, it is stated in another place, interpreters with presents of asbestos cloth came from the Western Regions. It is to be explained that the exact characters expressing the two Chinese sounds *Po-t'iao* are employed in Eitel's *Buddhist Vocabulary* to stand for *Va* and *dêva*. It also appears, from M. Drouin's list of Kushan kings, that there was a monarch named Bazadeo, or Vasudêva, between 132 and 176, and then occur the words "*(troi rois de ce nom ?)*" The evidence is thus inconclusive. But in 222 the Wei Dynasty re-established the Proconsulate, or Chinese Supervisory Residency; and it is remarkable that states corresponding to the modern Khoten, Kuche, Harashar, and Lob Nor all sent envoys *at this time only*, and not for fifty years either before or after that time; hence it is plain that China only made a short political "spurt" of a few years' duration in the nearer West. We are now, accordingly, fully prepared for the following interesting passages from the *Sui Shu*: "Now, the *sramana* from the Western Regions who had come hither and translated the Lesser Category *sûtras* had done so without proper sequence, so that they were not thoroughly comprehensible. During

the period *Kan-lu* (256-260), a semi-official traveller named Chu Shī went to the Western Regions, and, reaching Yü-t'ien state (Khoten), he obtained ninety chapters of *sūtras*. During the period Yüan-k'ang (A.D. 300) of the Tsin Dynasty [which succeeded the Wei at Loh-yang in 265], he arrived back at Yeh [a Tartar capital, the modern Chang-têh Fu], and translated them with the title of 'Light-giving *Pradjñâ sūtra*.'

As to the Southern empire, the *Sui Shu* simply remarks of the first Emperor (229-252) that a *sramaṇa* named K'ang (= Samarcand) Sêng-hwei, from the Western Regions, brought some Buddhist *sūtras* to Wu and translated them. Sun K'üan, the "dominus" of Wu, had the greatest respect for, and confidence in, him. The *Wu Chī*, or History of Wu, states that in 239 some asbestos cloth was brought from the Western Regions, so that probably this priest brought it. Just as the ancient Chinese improvise for Hindoo bonzes a family name *Chuh* out of the second syllable of T'ien-chuh, and the ancient and modern Chinese improvise a family name out of Sêng (*i. e. saṃgha*) for all priests who "leave their family," so it is probable that the "saṃgha Hwei" came from K'ang or K'ang-kü (Samarcand region). The word *fah*, "law" (in such words as Chuh Fah-lan, Chuh Fah-hu, etc.), simply translates the first part of the Hindoo's name (*e. g. Dharmagupta*) instead of transcribing it.

The breaking up by China, first of the Hiung-nu, and then of their successors in nomad empire the Sien-pi, had been followed, as we have seen, by the break-up of China herself. The Wei Dynasty of Toba were, in fact, themselves civilized Sien-pi; the Theodorics and Alarics of China. But the Toba Wei (386-580) must not be confused with the Chinese Wei or Ngwei (220-265). Towards the end of the third century, a successful Wei general, a pure Chinese named Sz-ma Yen, inheriting the *maire-du-palais* position created by his grandfather, father, and uncle, at last deposed the *fainéant* Wei monarch, and proceeded to conquer the other two empires; thus reuniting China. Meanwhile all these intestine troubles had given fatal opportunities to the various Tartar and Tibetan adventurers hanging around the north frontiers, and for over a century the new Tsin Dynasty of the Sz-ma family had to struggle with a motley succession of rough Cæsars each putting forth rival claims to be a northern Augustus. This transition period was the

busiest and most successful for Buddhism in the history of China.

According to the *Sui Shu*, there arrived in Loh-yang during the period T'ai-shī (265-275) a Yüeh-chī *sramana* named Chuh (= India) Fah-hu, who had wandered extensively over the various western states, and had made a huge collection of *sūtras*. He translated a great many volumes, "and it was from this date that the Buddhist teaching spread extensively eastwards." There were forty-two *foh-t'u* (pagodas) in Loh-yang when the Sz-ma family of rulers had settled down there. During the period 291-300, a "Hu" (Tartar) *sramana* named Chī-kung translated three volumes (described in the Toba History as the Buddha, the Vimala, and the Saddharma *sūtras*), and it seems to be stated that he did fairly good work in making clear certain obscurities, but failed on the whole. It is to be noticed that with this Tsin Dynasty (Ta Tsin, or "Great Tsin," which through the Buddhist translation *Maha-Tshina* first gave the name "China" to Western languages, and must on no account be confused with Ta-ts'in, or "Rome") began the first relations with Lin-yih (Ciampa) and Fu-nam (Angkor), both states founded by Hindoo colonists in Cochin-China. T'ien-chuh (or India) now again sends to China by sea (357), and it was doubtless during this half-century that the Hindoo trading expeditions persistently carried to China the "glad tidings" by the sea-route. In 317 the Tsin Dynasty was so hard pressed by the Tartars that it had to cross the Yangtsze and establish its capital at the modern Nanking: the Emperors who reigned there in 326-342, 371-372, and 373-396 were all admirers of Buddhism; more especially the last one, who had a *vihāra*, or private chapel, erected inside his palace, with a staff of priests to serve it. In the chapter devoted to the life of a "Cardinal Wolsey" named Wang Kung, a relative of one of the empresses, it is stated that he incurred great unpopularity about this time by forcing the people to work at constructing gorgeous monasteries; and that when he himself was executed by his enemies, he walked calmly to the place of execution, stroking his beard and chaunting *sūtras*. He said to his executioners: "My mistake has been in placing too much trust in men, which brings me to this pass. But my motives have

always been loyal to my king; all I know is that future generations will never forget the name of Wang Kung." It is pleasant for me now to be the agent in proving that he spoke truth.

Whilst Buddhism was thus making its way in South China, apparently by sea as well as by land, the rough Tartars in the north were giving it a very hearty reception. The "Wether" Hun adventurer Shih Lêh (a soldier of fortune serving a Hiung-nu "emperor" who claimed Imperial status under ancient marriage connections with China) gave a very warm welcome to a Chinese *sramana*, named Wei Tao-an, hailing from modern Chêh Kiang province (319-330). This man discovered an unusual aptitude for Buddhistic learning, and made great efforts to ascertain the exact meaning of many *sûtras* which had so far been but imperfectly translated. As the *Sui Shu* specially mentions the imperfect translations of the "Hu" *sêng* (= Tartar bonze) who put the *Vimala* and *Saddharma* into Chinese, it would seem that this individual must be the same as the Chî-kung above mentioned (291-300). The *Sui Shu* says: "As China was now in a complete state of anarchy, and intercommunications were difficult, Wei Tao-an, with his band of disciples, took a trip south to Sin-ye [modern Nan-yang in Ho Nan], and endeavoured to spread the doctrines of Buddha far and wide. He sent his disciple Fah-sing [a translation of *Dharmâkara*] to Yang-chou, and Fah-ho to Shuh [Sz Ch'wan]. Tao-an himself, with Hwei-yüan [*Hwei* is a translation of *Pradjñâ*], went first to Siang-yang [on the river Han], and then to Ch'ang-an, where he was received with great respect by Fu Kien [357-385, a Tibetan "emperor" at modern Si-an Fu]."

But we must go back a little. It appears that, before Wei Tao-an started upon his travels, he had met at Yeh (Chang-têh Fu, the "Wether" Hun capital) the distinguished T'ien-chuh (Indian) *sramana* Buddhôchinga, who was very much struck with the aptitude of the Chinese bonze. The history of Buddhôchinga is as follows: When young, he became a disciple and entered the "Church" in Udjâna State (the modern Swat). He reached Loh-yang in the year 310, and was with the Hiung-nu "emperor" Liu Yao (318-329) at Siang-kwoh (his capital, north of Chang-têh Fu). Afterwards Shih Lêh (who killed his patron Liu Yao), made a great deal of him,

and spared him from the general massacre of priests and others: he styled him Ta Ho-shang (= the Great Upadhyâya). He was consulted on all state affairs, and with great tact managed to elude Shih Lêh's violent outbursts. In 334 Shih Lêh was succeeded by his able kinsman Shih Hu, better known as Shih Ki-lung, who paid Buddôchinga even greater honours. Some Chinese statesmen, Wang Tu among them, expostulated: "Buddha is a foreign god, and not of the kind to be worshipped by the Son of Heaven; it is proposed that all high officers of state be forbidden to burn incense and worship at the temples; moreover, that all subjects of Chao [*i. e.* the "Wether" Hun Empire] who have become *sramaṇa* be ordered to unfrock." The fierce Tartar issued the following manly decree: "I am myself of outlandish origin, and, having now become Autocrat of All the Chinas, may be well permitted to follow my own customs in matters of religion. I hereby authorize all persons, be they barbarians or men of Chao, to worship Buddha if they choose."

Fu Kien, who welcomed Wei Tao-an to his court as a kind of Elisha, successor to the Elijah Buddôchinga, was a Tibetan of the *Ti* branch, and in a sort of way may be said to have politically represented the now extinct "Wether" Hun power too. When Wei Tao-an was at his court, he heard that there was in the Western Regions a very distinguished Buddhist named Kumâradjîva. Being most anxious to compare religious notes with this personage, he used his influence over the rough Tibetan to procure the sage's presence at Ch'ang-an. Kumâradjîva was of Indian origin, his father having been hereditary premier in some Hindoo state—Eitel says Takchas'ilâ, the Greek Taxila. The father resigned his expectant rights, and set out "eastwards across the Onion Range," (and therefore from the Kashmir region). Arriving at Kut-tsui or Kû-ts'z (the modern Kuche, between Kashgar and Harashar), the king of that place forced a wife upon him, and Kumâradjîva was born to the pair. The latter at the age of twelve went with his mother to Sha-lêh State (Kashgar) for a year, but at twenty he returned to Kuche, his mother, however, travelling to India. Fu Kien, having sent his general Lü Kwang to attack and take Kuche, said: "And get hold of Kumâradjîva if you can." Lü Kwang did so, and forced a wife upon Kumâ-

radjîva. Meanwhile the *Ti* Tibetan Dynasty of the Fu family came to an end, and was replaced by one bearing the patronymic Yao, of the *Kiang* Tibetan family ; Lü Kwang and his son founded an independent state at Tun-hwang (Marco Polo's Sacciu¹), and Kumâradjîva remained there until the Tibetan Dynasty conquered that place, on which he received the title of "National Instructor" (about A.D. 400). He often exchanged compliments from a distance with Wei Tao-an, but it was not until twenty years after the death of the latter that Kumâradjîva reached Ch'ang-an (A.D. 401). To his keen sorrow he found his old correspondent was long ago dead, but he had the satisfaction of comparing notes, and ascertaining that his own views and those of Wei Tao-an upon certain obscure interpretations were absolutely identical, "in consequence of which the true meaning of the Buddhist law was made abundantly clear all over China."

¹ An enormous number of Buddhist documents a thousand years old have recently been unearthed here by Dr. Aurel Stein and M. Paul Pelliot.

PART V
ISLĀM IN CHINA

CHAPTER I

ISLĀM IN CHINA

THE following pages comprise reduced translations of a small pamphlet, with its colophons and prefaces, emanating from West China, which has been copied and sent to me from Sz Ch'wan. About fifteen years ago the Imprimerie Nationale of Paris published a small work by the late Gabriel Devéria entitled *Origine de l'Islāmisme en Chine*. In this work M. Devéria gives a critical account of the various attempts made by modern Chinese Mussulmans to reconstruct from traditions the alleged history of early Islām in China, and to connect the well-known mosques of Canton with the earliest missionaries said to have been dispatched to China by Mahomet himself. The papers now translated, so far as they are relevant to historical conclusions, simply tell the same story in modified form, adding at the same time some particulars about the Prophet's life which are not to be found in most of the accessible European histories and encyclopædias. So far as the dynastic records of China take us, there is absolutely nothing to show that the Arabs were even known by name to the Emperor at the time, A.D. 628, when he is said to have had a dream, sent envoys to Mahomet, and sanctioned the erection of mosques in China. The whole story seems to have been suggested by that of A.D. 62, when a Chinese emperor dreamt of a personage stated by the interpreters of his dream to be Buddha, and sent envoys to the Indus region to find out all about the new religion. Nor is there anything in the ancient Mussulman remains and inscriptions either at Canton or, so far as we know, elsewhere in China to connect them definitely with alleged Arab missionaries of the seventh century. Still, the Chinese Mussulmans have always been a serious and morally respectable body of men, as even the pagan Chinese admit when engaged in sup-

pressing their revolts, religious or political ; and consequently it may be believed that, in circulating so industriously these pamphlets concerning the origin of their religion, they are acting in good faith. Moreover, it must be remembered that for 300 years North China had been under Tartar emperors, and entirely separated from the dynastic rulers of South China reigning at modern Nanking, who had in consequence a monopoly of the sea-trade up to the year 581. Then the short-lived but energetic dynasty of Sui governed the whole of China until 618, to be in that year supplanted by the glorious house of T'ang ; it is quite certain that Fire-worshippers, Manicheans, and Nestorians arrived in China *viâ* Persia within twenty years of that date, and though the Chinese histories first mention the Arabs only in 651, after their defeat of the Persian King Yezdegerd, yet that same Yezdegerd sent a mission to China in 638, when his troubles were beginning. Though specific evidence is wanting, it is by no means impossible, therefore, that Mahomet, who showed such military activity between the Hegira of 622 and his death in 632, should have heard of China, and even have sent thither a man named Wakkass ; though, of course, not his uncle Wakkass, who died about 672 at Medina. Further information may at any time turn up, as the Chinese unofficial records are more closely examined ; and meanwhile it is only reasonable to listen to the unofficial statements of Chinese Mussulmans, even though official Chinese history cannot be reconciled with all their allegations.

The undated preface to the "Origin of the Mussulmans," written by Yang Tien-ying, apparently about twenty years ago, begins by stating that Islâm in China extends back to Wakkass of the T'ang period, who received Mahomet's specific commands to proceed to China, and sojourned first of all at Ch'ang-an (the present Si-ngan Fu in South Shen Si) : later he went to Canton, where his tomb is still to be seen outside the northern suburb ; but nothing is known of the precise date of his arrival there. When the Mussulman *akhoond* Ma Têh-hing [killed in 1874 at the capture of Ta-li Fu from the Panthays]¹ was conducting a school for believers at Canton at the Hwai-shêng Sz [mosque erected in memory of Wakkass], he heard of this, and

¹ Wherever square brackets [] are used, the words contained between them have been added by me to explain the text.



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BUDDHIST TEMPLE IN CH'ANG-SHA.
(Where the riot took place, April 13, 1910.)

[To face p. 245.]

expressed his astonishment that no one had thought fit to rescue the facts from oblivion. Then it was that Mr. Pao Hiung-chao, cognomen Tsz-pin, composed from the statements of the various histories the pamphlet now under notice.

* * * * *

Next follows a colophon by Pao Hiung-chao himself, saying that in the year 1876 he had met Ma Têh-hing at the Hia-t'ah ["Summer Pagoda," probably one of the names by which the Kwang-t'ah, or "Bare Pagoda," of the Canton Mosque is known] Mosque, and that the latter had produced a work of his own composition on Arabia, Wakkass, and Mahomet, to which Mr. Pao considered he ought, as a Cantonese, to add a few words. For instance, that the Hwai-shêng Sz was destroyed during the local disturbances of 1341 to 1368, which accompanied the ejection of the Mongols from North China by the native dynasty of Ming; but that the Mongol General Sêngianu had it rebuilt, besides repairing the grave of Wakkass. Again, during the Ming reign, 1464 to 1487, there was an outbreak of the aboriginal tribes in Kwang Si and Kwang Tung, in order to quell which the then viceroy, Han Yung [this revolt is corroborated by standard history], brought 3000 Mussulman troops down from Nanking in order to quell the insurrection. In consequence of their effective services, the Emperor ordered the permanent establishment of four Mussulman garrisons in Canton city. When the last scions of the Ming dynasty were in turn being driven out by the Manchus, three faithful Mussulman commanders attached to these garrisons bravely died at their posts [presumably in defence of Ming interests], and their graves are still to be found alongside that of Wakkass, as is recorded in the local chronicle of the city.

* * * * *

Finally comes a preface to the second edition by Ma K'iyung, a *hadji* of Sin-hing in Yün Nan, stating that in the year 1882 he had been fortunate enough to obtain a copy of the "Origin of the Mussulmans," and had learnt for the first time that Mr. Pao Tsz-pin had obtained his information from Ma Têh-hing, instructor to the Hwai-shêng Sz—*i. e.* from an ancestor of his own; in consequence of which he had had it reprinted, the printing blocks being stored in the old mosque of Ch'ang-sha Fu in Hu Nan province. [Ma Têh-hing, known

also as Ma Fuh-ch'ü, visited Mecca and Constantinople in 1846 to 1848, and is mentioned by both names in standard Manchu history.]

* * * * *

According to the Chinese story, as told in the "Origin of the Mussulmans," during the late spring of the year corresponding to A.D. 628, the Emperor had a curious dream, followed, when he awoke, by the strange spectacle of a turbaned individual crouching in the apartment. The next morning one of the Imperial astrologers represented to the Emperor that he had observed during the night certain remarkable lights in the western sky, and suggested that envoys should be sent to discover the indications of future political changes in that direction. The Emperor then described his own vision, followed by the unexpected sight of a crouching man in a turban and green robe engaged in reciting from a book. The minister then explained that turbaned persons were the Mussulmans of the West, far away beyond the remotest passes of Kan Suh province, and their king was a latter-day saint named Mahomet or Muhammed. This story was supported by the testimony of one of the Emperor's generals who had formerly been also one of his rivals at the time when a change of dynasty was taking place. [It must be here noted that the Chinese have no trace of any word signifying "Mussulmans" previous to the twelfth century.]

In consequence of these representations, the Emperor dispatched an officer named Shih T'ang by way of Hami and Bokhara, at which latter place the envoy fell in with some traders from Mecca, from whom he was able to glean some information touching the holy man of the West; to the effect, namely, that the Sage in question emanated from Mecca in Arabia; that he had received a Scripture from Heaven, and that he had been appointed Prophet for the conversion of the world. [No known historical work contains any mention of Shih T'ang, and Hami was at this time a Buddhist centre in possession of the Turks, known by quite another name—I-wu, or I-ngu, which some persons have thought means Igour or Ouigour (Turks).] The merchant who related these things offered to guide the steps of the Chinese envoy to Mecca, where in due course the Imperial letter and prayer for support was

handed in. The Sage explained that his daily religious duties rendered it impossible for him to go to China in person, but he announced his readiness to dispatch suitable persons to represent him there. He therefore made selection of three pious and learned *sahebs*, named Kaiss, Uwaiss, and Wakkass, and sent them to China along with Shih T'ang, to whom he presented as a gift for the Emperor a portrait of himself, which had been transferred to a piece of paper hung upon the wall of the Kaaba, before which sheet of paper the Sage had only to stand a few minutes whilst the transfer process was going on. He warned the Chinese envoy that the Emperor should be careful not to allow any persons to worship or do obeisance to this picture. [It is stated in the encyclopædias that in the seventh century the Arabs really had learnt from the Chinese how to make paper from cotton.] Two of the *sahebs* found the climate and the hardships of travel so trying that they perished on the way; but Wakkass arrived safely, *viâ* the Kia-yüh Pass in Western Kan Suh, at the Chinese Court. When Shih T'ang presented the portrait to the Emperor, he forgot the Prophet's injunction never to make obeisance before it; so soon as the Emperor had opened and inspected it, he at once recognized the turbaned man in green who had appeared after his vision. So impressed was he by this coincidence, that he at once ordered it to be hung up in his throne-room, and lost no time in doing obeisance to it. The consequence was that the portrait immediately disappeared from the paper, and the only satisfaction remaining, after the neglect of the Prophet's injunction, was the conviction that all his words must be true.

The Prophet had confidentially instructed the three *sahebs* that, in order to overcome the difficulty of language in a strange country, they should carry with them a handful of native soil, by sniffing which they might at any time be permeated by his own spirit. Wakkass did this, and was thus enabled to discuss all political and religious matters intelligibly and intelligently with the Emperor. His majesty was so struck with Wakkass' powers that he expressed a desire to keep him as an adviser, offering him the post of chief astronomer and a high salary. [It is quite true that at least Hindoo astronomers were employed in China at this time.] Wakkass, however, pleaded his incompetence, as well as his absence of worldly ambition, and vowed

that his only desire was to spread the truth in China, adding that one single man could not achieve much even of that work. On this the Emperor offered to send 3000 Chinese troops to Arabia, in exchange for 3000 Mussulman soldiers to be sent to China to assist Wakkass in the work of religious conversion. But the good Wakkass did not like the notion of taking 3000 Chinese so far away from their families and homes, and therefore proposed that he himself should dispatch a memorial to his master, asking for as many unencumbered volunteers as should choose to come to China, only begging that the Emperor would provide them with suitable homes and military pay. The result of this application [and it is not explained by what channel it reached Arabia] was that the Prophet at once dispatched 800 volunteers, free from family ties, to assist Wakkass in his work of conversion. The Emperor commanded one of his Tartar generals—a man well known to standard history—to superintend the construction of a mosque, and dwelling-houses attached, in a certain street of the metropolis (Ch'ang-an, the modern Si-ngan Fu, in Shen Si province), “and to this day” (says our narrative) “the commemorative tablet is still preserved in that street, thus evidencing the first entry of Islām into China.” [I am not aware that any European has ever seen either an old mosque or a commemorative tablet in Si-ngan; but see next chapter.]

And thus things went on until the reign of the great-grandson of the above-mentioned Emperor, when, in consequence of the rebellion of his majesty's Turkish minion Anlushan in 756, and the flight of the Emperor from his capital, it was found necessary to apply for the assistance of Mussulman troops. [Chinese history supports this, and gives the name Abu Djafar as that of the general who lent the troops.] The Mussulman king, perceiving that the application emanated from a descendant of Wakkass, at once dispatched a force of 3000 of his best troops. They proved irresistible: Anlushan had to vacate the metropolis, and the Emperor was so pleased with their efforts that he decided to retain the services of the Mussulman soldiers as a permanent bodyguard. A larger mosque, with adequate buildings attached for the accommodation of 3000 men, was erected in the metropolis [Ch'ang-an]. Just so many women were brought to the capital from the province of Kiang Si, and

given to the soldiers as wives, since which time they have multiplied and prospered ; but from time to time they have been drafted off for service in other provinces, in few of which we do not find Mussulmans at the present day.

Wakkass obtained leave to revisit his own country on three occasions after his first arrival in China. On the first occasion he went to obtain the necessary stock of religious literature for use in China. On the second occasion he went to receive from the Prophet's hands a copy of the Koran, and to engage persons competent to recite it ; also to have indicated the place of his own death. The Prophet gave him a copy of what had been revealed up to date, and promised to send more when it should have been received from Heaven. As to the place of Wakkass' death, he pointed eastwards, and said that the arrow shot by an archer then summoned for that purpose would indicate the exact place of death. Wakkass returned to China by sea, and in due course arrived safely at Canton, where he discovered the arrow outside the north wall, near a bridge called the *Liu-hwa K'iao*. Here he caused to be built an enclosure in readiness to accommodate his body after death. He also memorialized the Emperor for permission to erect a temple called the *Hwai-shêng Sz*, or " Temple in memory of the Prophet." This was granted, and glebes were appropriated to the uses of the mosque in the adjacent city districts of Lung-mên and Tsêng-ch'êng. Boundary stones were set down on the spots in question, and marked " Mussulman glebes," but these have since disappeared in the course of time. Inside the mosque was erected a bare pagoda 160 feet high ; on the summit there is a vane in the form of a golden fowl which turns with the wind, and there is also a winding staircase or passage inside by which you can go to the top. [I have visited this pagoda, but the vane is no longer there.] Morning and evening the *muezzin* ascends this to call to prayer, and to recite the *pang-koh* [?]. Every seven days a flag is kept flying on the pagoda to notify people that this is the Lord's day. The mosque is to the north-west of the *P'o Shan* (Bank Hill), which in ancient times was the head of the ferry, so that all the merchant ships congregated at the ferry head could see it plainly. The Five Genii Temple of to-day, in fact, occupies the old site of Bank Hill.

After this the Prophet sent forty men to escort the Koran to the Chinese metropolis. Here they learned that Wakkass was at Canton, and so they handed over the Koran to the Mussulman students, and proceeded themselves to Canton. They happened to reach the northern suburb on a Sabbath, and they were in the act of spreading their mats on the ground to pray, when they were suddenly attacked by a powerful robber (whose attention had been attracted by their strange language and appearance), and all murdered. By and by the robber learnt of the quality of the virtuous men he had murdered, and in despair cut his own throat. The forty graves still seen there are those of the men who brought the Koran, and outside the gate is the robber's own grave.

The third occasion on which Wakkass returned home was after seeing in a vision a man who told him that the Prophet was about to quit this world, and that he must hurry back at once if he wished to see the last of his master. He left for Medina the next day, but arrived at his distant destination too late. However, he was in time for the public funeral, and was able to get a glimpse of the Prophet's features by removing the cover of the bier. The other *sahebs* and elders told him that Mahomet had left behind testamentary directions that he was to return to China to preach the faith: he received at the same time a complete copy of the Koran in 6,666 verses, arranged in 30 large volumes of 114 chapters. This book he carried with him to Canton, where shortly afterwards he died. His disciples buried him within a circular wall, constructed after the fashion of the Arabian tombs, with a pavilion or chapel attached for prayers and sacrifices or offerings, whence it is also called the Offering Tomb. [*Hiang-fên*. M. Devéria gives a second *Hiang*, and translates "Echo Tomb."] The door-slab bears the four words, *Sien-hien Ku-mu* (Former Sage's Ancient Tomb); and this is all that remains of the *saheb* Wakkass' memory. The word *saheb* refers to his having formerly been one of Mahomet's intimates.

ORIGINAL NOTE.—Mahomet became a prophet at forty—*i. e.* in the sixth year (*sic*) (623) of the founder of the T'ang dynasty. He was forty-five when his teachings were brought to China, in the second year of the founder's son (628). He died at sixty-three, in the twentieth year (646) of that same

son. [It must here be explained that these, like nearly all Chinese Mussulman dates, are a few years wrong, owing to the strictly lunar nature of the Mussulman year having been misunderstood.]

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The above is a *précis* of the little pamphlet *Hwei-hwei Yüan-lai*, or "The Origin of the Mussulmans," a manuscript copy of which was obtained for me, as I have stated, at Ch'êng-tu, in Sz Ch'wan. [The late Alexander Wylie says that one copy dates back to 1754.] It is immediately followed by the following sketch of Islām taken from the *T'ien-fang Shih-luh*, or "True History of Arabia":—

Islām began in Arabia ["Heavenly Place" or "Heavenly House," probably = Paradise], and Arabia goes back to Adam and the Creation. The saints and prophets from Adam downwards succeeded each other from time to time until the Sui dynasty's reign period 581–600, when Mahomet appeared, and the *tao* (*i. e.* "road," or "teaching") became clearer. The name *T'ien-fang*, or "Heavenly House," was at the Creation called *Kaaba*, and descended from Heaven; hence "Heavenly House" was adopted as the name of the state itself, which was considered to be in the exact centre of the world; thus the faithful in all parts bow towards Mecca; [The *Beitullah*, or "House of God," at Mecca]. Man's true unsullied nature evinces itself in prayer, when inspiration also comes to him, and all unworthy thoughts and motives vanish. Full details about all this spiritual working are to be found in the Holy Scriptures, from Adam downwards to Mahomet, and the longest life is insufficient wherein to become proficient in the mastery of all these mysteries; in any case, the vast sense of the true religion is only partly and imperfectly expressed in human literature, not to speak of the limited scope of Chinese history. The various Ouigour states all accepted the faith of Islām, which is further evidence of its influence [as I have shown in my book *China and Religion*, the Ouigour Turks are inexplicably mixed up with the word "Mussulman"]; yet it is remarkable how so many of our best Chinese *literati* should have from time to time visited Western Asia without any one of them having brought back a clear statement about Islām. It is for this reason that I write the present short notice to show how im-

measurably superior it is to all other religions, and for further information I would refer to special authorities [? Arabic] on the subject.

Written by Chang Hin-tsing of Pêh-hai in the year 1634 of the Ming Emperor Ch'ung-chêng [reign 1627 to 1644].

* * * * *

The above is followed by an essay on the Mussulman religion taken from an undated work called *Shi-wu T'ung-k'ao*, an "Inquiry into Matters of General Interest." The purport of it is as follows: Notwithstanding that the Mussulman religion began with Mahomet, yet Abraham of Judæa is the original apostle, though the faith much later on really spread from Arabia. We must consult both the Old and the New Testament in order to understand parts of the Koran. The *Shang-ti*, or God, of Mahomet was the *Shên*, or Spirit, worshipped by Abraham: probably Mahomet followed the lines of the *T'ien-chu Kiao* [Christianity], or adapted it to his views. At present there are three main streams in this religion; to wit, the *I-sê-la-wei* [? Islam or ? Israelitish] Society, the *Mê-tsai-lêng-wei* Society [? Moslem], and the *Mu-han-mê-tê* [Mahomet] Society, all of which use the same calendar, beginning with the year of Mahomet's moving from Mecca city [the Hegira, or "flight," of A.D. 622]. He fled from his political enemies to Medina, whence the calendar begins with this year and day, which is the fifteenth [Gibbon says sixteenth] day of the seventh month of the Western Calendar year 622. Their Mussulman books all take their cue from the Koran, which gives a detailed account of Mahomet and his doings. The first part of it says that Mahomet was a native of Arabia in Asia, and of very wealthy family of successful traders. His great-great-grandfather [Gibbon says it was Hashen, his great-grandfather] once shared his bread with the hunger-stricken people, who therefore held his memory in affection. Mahomet was a posthumous son, and his mother, after her husband's death, was too poor to rear him; so she sent him to a foster-mother, whence he returned at the age of four. Four years later, again, his mother died, and his grandmother took charge of him. But before long his grandfather, who had also become impoverished, died, and Mahomet had no one but his uncle [father's younger brother] to go to. When a youth he was very clever and

enterprising : at the age of thirteen he offered his services as scavenger in the army, and attracted his petty officer's attention so much by his industry that he was made a regular soldier. [It is usually stated that at thirteen he went with his uncle Abu Talêb to Syria.] Now, it so happened that a society had been formed in his native country the object of which was to sustain the poor against the rich, and to set aright all grievances ; it was called the Society of Heroes, and Mahomet had belonged to it ; but after his military service he withdrew from it. A new temple had just been erected in his native place when he returned crowned with military glory. It was called the *Nga-ba* [? Kaaba], and it yet required the placing of a black corner-stone, much as we in China hang up an honorary or ornamental door-tablet. The persons in charge, holding that Mahomet's military successes pointed him out as the most suitable man to lay this stone, charged him with the duty, which he performed successfully amid the acclamations of the multitude. His name was soon in every one's mouth. It was now that a rich widowed relative of his pressed him to undertake the management of her family affairs, which prospered so much under his administration that she ended by marrying him. At this time the rulers of Arabia were elective for a term of years ; and, as the spirit of the people was warlike, it came about that Mahomet was chosen at the next vacancy. Observing the unsettled state of religious belief, he now took the opportunity to introduce a new faith which, he asserted, he had received direct from the God of Heaven. By dint of his able proselytism he soon obtained followers, though he found himself severely handicapped by his lack of a liberal education. He endeavoured to remedy this defect by retiring for long periods into seclusion and studying the Old and New Testaments ; but of course there was much he was not capable of understanding, and the result was that many of his own ideas were woven in with parts that he did not adequately comprehend.

This went on for five years [usually stated to be fifteen], when once more he retired to a fastness or cave in the I-la Mountains [Hira, or Hera, a few miles west of Mecca]: After a while he emerged from the cave with a book in his hand, which, he told his wife and daughter [Fatima], was called

Al-Koran, being the Book of God, found on the judgment-seat of God, who, perceiving the diversity of opinion amongst mankind, had dispatched the divine spirit *Kia-peî-ê-r* [the Angel Gabriel] to deliver it to him for the salvation of the world. "At first I did not understand, but the angel grasped me by the hair and dragged me about until I realized all its hidden meanings." Next day [? three years later] he gave a great feast to his relatives and friends, and, when excited with wine, related to them all the above experiences. There were as many unconvinced as believers, but his nephew [his cousin Ali] rose and said: "My uncle [cousin] has received a special commission from Heaven; if any of you takes adverse views, I will gouge out his eyes, and tear out his heart as punishment." The guests separated in silence, and ever after this the unbelievers harboured hostile intent. Mahomet said: "I have received the commands of the God of Heaven: what can you do?" A powerful member of the state named Nga-mo [Omar], hearing of Mahomet's doings, seized his sword and went in pursuit of him; but, meeting on the road an acquaintance of his named Hia-ying [query, who?], he was dissuaded or intimidated by the latter, and went instead to the house of his brother-in-law to see his sister, who, as a believer, was at that moment engaged in studying the Koran. She attempted to conceal it when she saw Omar coming in; but he wrested it from her under menace of the sword, and at once began to read it himself; as a sequel to which he also became a believer and a staunch proselyte: he proceeded to Mahomet's house, and was accepted as one of the disciples. Soon after that Mahomet's uncle [Abu Taleb] died, and then his own wife [Kadidja] died also. He set up a wail, saying: "There are only four perfect women in the world, of whom my wife and my daughter are two: now that my wife is dead, the world has lost one of its perfect women." At this moment there were only twelve genuine believers, but next year there were more, and Mahomet agreed with them on the following five prohibitions: (1) against villainy; (2) against adultery and lewdness; (3) against wilful murder of infants; (4) against believing in other religions, there being only one God; (5) against failing to rescue and support believers in time of stress. The people of his native village mostly hated him, and sought

for opportunity to do him violence, in consequence of which Mahomet was often obliged to go into hiding, or to slink about for safety. One day, when he was fifty-two years of age, he announced to the multitude that the angel had paid him one more visit, had taken out and replaced his heart after washing it, and had conducted him to the seventh heaven, beside a tree, beyond which were seen four rivers encircling it : then he was conducted to the Palace of Heaven and the Divine Throne for audience with God, who commanded him to pray fifty times a day, etc. The multitude believed all this. At this time Mahomet was living in Mecca, where those who wished to kill him were becoming daily more numerous, so he moved to Medina. This was on the fifteenth day of the seventh month of the Western Calendar, year 622, a date which marks the commencement of the Mussulman reckoning. After that his followers became numerous, and those who did not accept the teaching were attacked and killed ; so that the faith was gradually spread, and Arabian political influence reached a great height. But he gave way to self-indulgence towards the end ; he had about a dozen wives, besides innumerable concubines, even robbing other men of their wives for his own sensual ends. He died at the age of sixty-two, and was buried in Medina city. Every year thousands of the faithful go thither to pray.

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Another book on Islām sent to me from Western China was printed at Ch'êng-tu in 1897, but the preface of the author, Ma An-li—an expectant official, native of Kwei Chou province—is dated January 1879 ; in it a short account is given of the very few trustworthy Chinese authors of works on Islām. It includes a short rhapsody by one A-jih-fu, who seems from his name to be an Arab, or some other foreign Mussulman. The rhapsody in its Chinese form is the work of the above-mentioned Ma Fuh-ch'ü, who perished after the taking of Ta-li *Fu* in 1874 ; he contributes a preface dated 1863, in which the idolatry of Buddhism and (the modern corrupt) *Taoism* is contrasted with the five principles of Islam—fasting, ablutions, prayer, repentance, and praise. Then follow a number of essays on comparative religion by A-jih-fu, who strains every effort to prove that the ancient monotheism of China was

identical with Mahomet's conception of Islām, and that *Shang-ti* (the Emperor on High), which only later became *T'ien* (Heaven), was the Mussulman Allah. It was only in Confucius' time (say 500 B.C.) that the ancient orthodox faith was encroached upon by philosophical doctrinaires, and finally lost ground in its competition (say A.D. 1) with Buddhism and (the later or corrupt) *Taoism*.

A-jih-fu gives a list of Moslem works or translations submitted to the Chinese Emperor in 1782. He has very little of historical value to say himself, and his critical capacity may be judged by the fantastical derivation he suggests for the term *hwei-tsz* universally applied in China to Moslems: he says it means *hwei*, "to return to," *tsz*, "the philosophers"; *i. e.* those who wish to revert to the good old orthodox philosophers, of whom Confucius became the representative. As regards the historical origin of Islām in China, he transfers to the founder of the Sui dynasty (reigned 581 to 604), the story of the vision and the arrival in China of Wakkass, the establishment of a mosque at Canton, and so on. He gives a third meaning to the word *Hiang* in describing the grave at that place, and makes it mean "fragrant," because the fragrancy of the soil has the power of healing sickness. These discrepancies simply have the effect of throwing further doubts upon the genuineness of either version.

* * * * *

Finally comes a short account of the origin of Islām in China by Liu Chī, *alias* Liu Kiai-lien, who lived about two centuries ago under the second emperor (K'ang-hi) of the present Manchu dynasty, and who is generally recognized as the first and best Chinese author on the Mussulmans. He says that Islām came to China through the *Hwei-hêh* (or Ougour-Turk) State, which was then a sort of buffer state on the west confines of China and on the east confines of the caliphate. He adds that during the Sung (960 to 1260) and Mongol (1260 to 1368) dynasties large numbers of Arabian scientists came to China, and, disliking the term *Hwei-hêh*, applied to all Mussulmans because they came *viâ* Ougour land, and because the Ougours themselves had become Mussulmans, had it changed to *Hwei-hwei*. The meanings, good and bad, of the word *hwei* are, however, so numerous, according to context, that it is

quite impossible to be sure of the sense which the adopters of that term, whoever they were, intended to imply.

The total result of our inquiry into what purely historical *data* the Chinese authors have to furnish upon the subject of Islam is that nothing much can be added to what the dynastic histories tell us, and the purport of that I have already published in my humble work *China and Religion*.

* * * * *

There is, however, one other piece of testimony that may be added to the above. In the year 1871, when the Viceroy Tso Tsung-t'ang was making his preparations for the capture of the Mussulman rebel stronghold of Suh Chow (Marco Polo's Succuur), and for the subsequent annihilation of Yakub Beg's Andijan power in Urumtsi, Khoten, Kashgar, Yarkand, etc., he sent to the Emperor direct all the particulars he could glean from prisoners and local inhabitants about the Mahometans in China. He says: "The Chinese Mussulmans of Kan Suh are of Western Tartar (Arab) origin, who, as it is clearly recorded in history, have from ancient times mixed freely, except so far as intermarriage is concerned, with the other inhabitants." He describes their traditional history from Adam down to Ersä (Jesus) "when their faith had its origin. Six hundred years later, during the Sui dynasty's reign-period, 581 to 600, Mahomet developed what was now known as the Purity-Truth Faith [the term still applied to mosques in China]. They themselves call it Heavenly Place Faith [evidently the ideas of *Paradise* and *Beitullah* are included in this], and they style the believers *Moslems*, after the founder, or, as some say, after Adam." Mahomet is said to have received the heavenly classic or Scripture (*i. e.* the Koran) from Heaven. "Then there are two works [named] criticizing, expanding, and explaining the Koran, by the Nanking Mussulman Liu Chī [above mentioned] of the Ming dynasty (which ended in 1644), who gives the necessary Chinese literary touches to the subject. The main principle of their religion is 'knowing the Lord,' like our own *ming-sin kien-sing*, or 'searching of the heart and conscience'; and their chief aim in life is devotion, like our own *chī-wai yang-chung*, or 'introspection.' They have five leading maxims or duties: (1) reciting the Scripture; (2) thanksgiving for favours; (3) fasting; (4) disciplinary tasks;

and (5) pilgrimages. Besides which they have five rules governing social intercourse. They recognize a week of seven days, and base their ideas upon the Lord of Heaven and Jesus' teaching, mixed up from time to time with Buddhist talk. They style us (Confucianists) the *ta-kiao* (great teaching), and their own religion the *siao-kiao* (or small teaching). They are not mere mischievous intriguers, and therefore they have managed to live in China for centuries quite promiscuously with our own people, not intermarrying, however, and adhering to their own customs and traditions; but at the same time not harbouring other disloyal thoughts: hence successive dynasties have tolerated them in our midst. No persecution of them is anywhere recorded to have taken place, and our present Manchu dynasty has even permitted them as officials to reach the highest civil and military ranks. In the Emperor K'ien-lung's time (1736 to 1795), the Viceroy of Nanking (1789) advised that they should not be allowed (in view of the Kan Suh Mussulman disputes which had then been brewing) to remain in China; but his Majesty very wisely reproved him for submitting such short-sighted counsel.

"In 1781 a certain Ma Ming-sin and one Su Sz-shih-san, returning from a visit [? a pilgrimage] to the West, gave out that they had secured some hitherto unpublished points of Arabian doctrine, and, basing their preaching upon this, they set up what was known as the 'new' or 'reformed' Islām. In 1784 this teaching was further promoted by an individual named T'ien Wu. Despite the severe military measures adopted to quell these schismatic troubles in Kan Suh, the danger was never quite eradicated. During the subsequent reign (1796 to 1820) the Akhoond Mahomet and one Ma Êrh-fuh, father of the Ma Hwa-lung, who is now (1871) giving trouble, once more secretly preached the new faith, which is at present at the root of the dissensions; advantage of this has been taken by the Andijans to promote their own schemes of conquest at the expense of China. Various prisoners who have been interrogated assert that there are also new faith preachers to be found at the Ts'i-hwa Gate of Peking city; at Tientsin; in the Tsitsihar province of North Manchuria; and also at Kwan-ch'êng-tsz (*i.e.* the present Russo-Japanese railway junction) in Kirin province; at Bantu (on the Yellow River

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INTERIOR OF MOSQUE AT A-SHIH-HO, NEAR HARBIN, NORTH MANCHURIA.

[To face p. 259.]

north of Ordos) ; and at Hankow. These preachers are called (1) *hai-li-fei* (? *Khalifa*, or 'vicar'), like our teachers of the classics in China ; or (2) *man-la* (*mollahs*), like our instructors ; both, however, being subordinate to the *akhoonds*. Ma Hwa-lung called himself the 'General Akhoond.' Their religion is quite like that of the old Mussulmans, except that, in reciting prayer, the Old join palms and turn the hands up, while the New hold them up without joining. The Old sit bolt upright to recite ; the New recite in unison, wagging their heads and shrugging their shoulders. The Old do not remove the shoes at funerals ; the New do. Not one of these trifling points touches the essence of the religion, but none the less the New insist on separation from the Old, because they claim special inspiration for their views ; and, besides that, talk much new nonsense about happiness and misery in the next world, thus humbugging foolish people very much in the way our White Lily Society does, not to mention our Purists, Quietists, Roundists, etc. Many prisoners insist that Ma Hwa-lung possesses the gift of prophecy, and the power to perform miracles, cure diseases, provide offspring, forgive sins, and so on." Tso Tsung-t'ang winds up his long memorial by recommending that proclamations should be issued in all cities of China where New Mussulmans are found, prohibiting the new or reformed faith altogether ; and he incidentally mentions that out of 2000 Mussulmans in Tsitsihar, 100 belong to the New Faith. The Emperor's decree in reply runs : "As you seem to have already issued proclamations to this effect round about where you are, you had better be as inactive as possible in giving effect to them, and do not on any account issue any more. We don't care whether the people are Old or New, whether they are Mussulmans or ordinary Chinese, so long as they are good subjects. Remember that in 1789 the Nanking Viceroy Lépao made the same proposal that you make, which my great-great-grandfather totally disapproved."

* * * * *

I will now add a few final words of my own. In the winter of 1873 Tso Tsung-t'ang, aided by his lieutenants Kinshun (afterwards for a long time Tartar General of Ili), Chang Yao (afterwards Governor of Shan Tung), and Sung K'ing (until 1900 in charge of the South Manchurian foreign-drilled troops),

took Suh Chou by storm ; massacred all but the women ; and completely exterminated the rebel brood of Mussulman " perverts " and preachers in Western China. Tung Fuh-siang (of " Boxer " renown in 1900) was one of the rebels, but he went over to the Imperialists just in time to save his skin.¹ Tso Tsung-t'ang now deliberately " sat down " to plant grain sufficient for supplies to pursue his conquering career farther westward. Up to this point nearly every ounce of food and provender had had to be conveyed in carts or by camel, mule, or coolie from North and Central China to the front, and it actually cost Taels 12 a hundredweight (say £60 a ton) to convey supplies over the 1560 *li* (500 miles) between Liang Chou and Ansi alone, not to speak of westwards of Ansi, and what it had already cost to reach Liang Chou. In 1877-1878, after the death of Yakub Beg, Tso Tsung-t'ang and his lieutenant Liu Kin-t'ang swept the whole of Kashgaria.

¹ He died about two years ago, and his relatives were " allowed to offer " his fortune of about £50,000 " to the public chest."

CHAPTER II

ISLĀM IN CHINA (MODIFIED)

IN my first chapter upon the above subject, I say, with reference to the alleged introduction of Islām into China and the building of a mosque at Si-an Fu in the year 628 : " I am not aware that any European has ever seen either an old mosque or a commemorative tablet in Si-an " ; and then I proceed to cite more definite facts, supported by Chinese history, showing that a mosque really was built there after 756. I also call attention to the late M. Devéria's *Origine de l'Islāmisme en Chine*, published by the Imprimerie Nationale about fifteen years ago. M. Devéria alludes to an inscription, dated 742, belonging to the largest mosque in Si-an, the only one (he says) which in the opinion of some was established during the T'ang dynasty ; but (he adds) no European has yet seen the original, or a rubbing of it. These words in my paper attracted the attention of Dr. Berthold Laufer,¹ of the Columbia University, who wrote to tell me that he had himself seen the original, *in situ*, when he was in Si-an Fu. On this I at once wrote to the French bishopric there, and in due course received a packet of rubbings from Mgr. Gabriel Maurice, of that city ; of one of these I now give an annotated translation below. Unfortunately, Bishop Maurice does not tell me from which mosque the 742 rubbing is taken ; but I since hear from Dr. Laufer that he himself possesses not only all the Si-an Fu rubbings that I now possess, but also copies of all the Mussulman inscriptions in the Peking, Hangchow, Canton, K'ai-fêng Fu, and T'ai-an Fu mosques, so that we may shortly expect plenty of new evidence upon the top of the present preliminary instalment. He says there are two mosques at Si-an with inscriptions and five mosques without ; but unfortunately he also omits to tell me from which of the two mosques possessing records the

¹ Now on an exploring mission in High Asia.

present important inscription is taken ; nor does he mention the new name given in 1482 to the older of the two mosques, but uses the old name.

As to the author of the inscription, Wang Hung, not only is his life given at length both in the Old T'ang History and New T'ang History, but the character Hung is so rare in literature that the modern dictionary of the Manchu Emperor K'ang-hi (1663-1723) practically says that its sole use in letters is to express the personal name of Wang Hung of the T'ang dynasty. Neither history says anything about Wang composing this inscription ; nor, in any case, would it be at all a likely thing to mention in biography. In the Old T'ang History the character Hung is written slightly differently, possibly because the true character was too rare for general comprehension, and, moreover, the titles therein do not exactly correspond with the titles of the inscription ; but the New T'ang History happily informs us that Wang Hung was promoted after 743, and it *does* give the correct titles. So far as the authorship goes, therefore, it may be said to be proved up to the hilt.

M. Devéria's knowledge of the inscription was derived from a Chinese Mussulman work in which it was printed. He objects that the style of it has not the true ring of T'ang dynasty "stelegraphy." In this I agree with him, and I add on my own part that the rubbing discloses a calligraphy quite different from that of the Nestorian stone of 781, and looks to me much more modern in spirit. However, these two points need the thorough exploration of the best native critics, and no foreigner is competent to pronounce upon such a matter positively without their trained assistance. M. Devéria also considers the allusion to the K'ai-hwang period (581-600)—which is, of course, too early for Islām to have entered China—very suspicious, and suggests a connection with the incredible story about the *saheb* Wakkass given in the preceding chapter. To this it may be replied that the inscription talks of tradition, and professes total ignorance of time and place. Bedr ud Din (of the inscription) would naturally tell the Chinese that Mahomet was born (583) during K'ai-hwang, and that is correct : there is also the question of the retrospective confusion between Mussulman lunar and Chinese lunar-solar years to consider. At all

events, M. Devéria's second objection is not altogether insuperable. M. Devéria then correctly points out that the "divine square" or "divine place" (Kaaba) is not mentioned in standard history before 1258, when two variants are used along with it, meaning "divine house" and "divine hall" (*i. e. beitullah*). But, if the inscription had stood from 742 to 1258 in Si-an Fu, surely the idea of *T'ien-fang* (divine place) must have been perpetually in the minds of Chinese Mussulmans, and may, indeed, have been the sole written authority for its first historical use in 1258? The Old T'ang History itself gives what it calls "one account" of Mahomet of the Hashem family in the Koreish tribe during K'ai-hwang times, and the man (Wu King) who put the materials of this history together did so almost exactly at the date when Wang Hung composed the slab inscription. Finally, M. Devéria himself—and perhaps the work from which he copies—makes a mistake in the name of the street (Wu-tsz Hiang) in which the great mosque was, and presumably is. There is authority both during the Mongol dynasty (1200-1368) and Ming dynasty (1368-1643) for Tsz-wu Hiang.

Dr. Laufer says: "Of the oldest inscription of 742 two versions are in existence—the original, and a more recent one, in which no date of the erection of the stone is given. In this recent version a few gaps are filled in, and in a few cases some difficult phrases have been replaced by easier ones." Father Maurice has sent me rubbings of both, but I do not discern any conclusive reason for accepting one as more recent than the other. The second and (as Dr. Laufer thinks) more recent one *does* give the date, adding the words "zodiacal precession" before the words *jên-wu*. Moreover, the name of the stone-cutter is given—a native of Wan-nien (Eternal) City (*i. e.* Si-an Fu).

On the whole, and subject to the chances of further evidence turning up, I am disposed to believe that both inscriptions are genuine T'ang, though one differs for some unexplained reason in unessential points from the other; and in any case I consider it to be conclusively proved that a Mussulman mosque existed in Si-an Fu in 742.

TRANSLATION.

COMPOSED BY WANG HUNG, SECRETARY ATTACHED TO THE
BOARD OF REVENUE, PERFORMING ALSO DUTY
AS A CENSOR.

I have always humbly understood that that which for countless ages never fails us is *tao*,¹ whilst that which for all time has worked with touching effect is the heart. It is the inspired men,² whose hearts are one and whose *tao* is the same, who touch the heart and never fail us for all time, for which reason it is that inspired men may appear anywhere within the four oceans; and when we speak of inspired men, we mean that this heart and this *tao* are alike within them. Mahomet, the inspired man of the Western regions,³ was born subsequently to Confucius, and dwelt in the country of the Kaaba; it is not known how far distant in time and place from the inspired man of China. And how is it that, with languages so different, the *tao* corresponds so exactly? It is because, the hearts being one, their *tao* is the same. It has been said in the past: "A thousand inspired, but one heart; throughout eternity, but one principle." And true it is. However, though the time be far past and the individuals dead, the Scriptural Books are still preserved. From what tradition says, we know that the inspired man of the Western regions was supernaturally intelligent from his birth: he understood the principles of created nature,⁴ and was conversant with what has been said

¹ *Tao*, "the way," is the ancient principle of perfect rule, the *shên-tao* or "spiritual path" of the *Book of Changes* (the Japanese *shin-tô*), the Taoism later developed by Lao-tsz—*i. e.* "Providence," or the providential scheme of the universe; in other words, "Eternal Truth," "the Word," or "God," as conceived by the writer of St. John's Gospel.

² *Shêng-jên* (Japanese form *sei-djin*), usually translated "holy man" or "saint homme," generally refers to Confucius; but, ages before Confucius, it was used—as in the *Book of Changes*—in reference to model emperors, and it may now be used of any great religious founder. In the form of flattery, it may even be applied to living emperors.

³ Arabia, North India, Persia, etc., are included in this term, which usually refers more specifically to Turkestan in its vague and largest sense.

⁴ "Heaven, earth, metamorphosis"; the idea, whatever it may be, appears to belong to Buddhistic rather than to Confucian literature. Part of the sentence is, however, clearly inspired by the *Book of Changes* on ouranology and geology.

about the respective conditions of life and death in this world and above. Then we have ablutions for the cleanliness of the person ; paucity of desires for the nourishment of the mind ; fasting and abstinence for the mastery of the senses ; eschewing evil in favour of what is good, and of doing what is essential for self-perfection ; complete loyalty without deception as a basis for influencing the hearts of men ; in marriages, the rendering of mutual assistance ; in deaths, the taking part reciprocally in funerals : in a word, in matters great, touching principle, social duty, and ceremonial propriety ;¹ in matters small, touching such matters as daily movements, eating, and repose ; nothing without *tao*, nothing without showing example, nothing without fear of Heaven. Though the various heads may in detail appear somewhat multifarious, yet we may sum the whole purport of it in a few words. The main idea is that Heaven, the Creator of all things,² is the *Dominus*, and the *tao* for serving Heaven can be exhausted in one single sentence—to wit, simply “transgress not the reverence of our own hearts,” which would appear to be in general very much the same as the “Revere thou Glorious Heaven” of our Yao,³ the “holy reverence for the sun’s motions” of our T’ang,⁴ the “enlightened serving of the Emperor on High” by our Wên, and Confucius’ “he who offends Heaven” ;⁵ all which are evidence enough in support of the proposition—“touches the heart and never fails us for all time.” Though the inspired *tao* was thus similar, yet, as it only had vogue in the Western regions, China never heard of

¹ The Three Duties, Five Constant Virtues, Five Cardinal Relationships, and general rule of action of the Confucian teaching, *i. e. li*.

² “All things” comes from the cosmogony of the *Book of Changes*. “Creation” is the metamorphosis process of the last note but one. Unfortunately, the word translated *Dominus* is ambiguous, as it can also be translated “leading idea on which stress may be laid.”

³ The Emperor Yao’s injunction (about 2300 B.C.) to his astronomers as related in the *Book of History*. “Heaven” and “Emperor Aloft” are the two most ancient Chinese expressions for “God above.”

⁴ This “holy,” from the *Book of Odes*, is the same word as that translated “inspired” in the second note on p. 264. Yao and T’ang (1766 B.C.) were both “holy men” ; as also was King Wên, whose son destroyed, in 1122 B.C., the corrupted dynasty gloriously founded by T’ang ; and of course, Confucius (500 B.C.) was “holy.”

⁵ In the Analects Confucius said that such an one “was past praying for,” or, perhaps, “was beyond the reach of his own prayers.”

it until during the K'ai-hwang period of the Sui dynasty,¹ when the teaching entered China and spread itself broadcast over the empire. And so on until the T'ien-pao period of his Majesty,² in the present dynasty, when, on account of *tao* of the Western regions Apostle having similarities with the *tao* of the Apostle of China, and the faith he set up being based on orthodox principles, commands were accordingly given to Lo T'ien-tsioh, Superintendent of Craftsmen in the Board of Works, to take charge of the artisans and labourers and erect a monastery for it, in order to house its congregation. Meanwhile, their Bishop³ is Pai-tu-êrh-tih. He is a man considerably conversant with the Scriptural Book,⁴ and he will have charge of the congregations, carry out the worship of the holy teaching, and from time to time conduct services⁵ in honour of Heaven,

¹ The Sui dynasty (581-618) reunited the two halves of China after centuries of Tartar rule in the north, and was the first to cope with the Turks, and seriously try to follow their lead through the Caspian region and Persia to the "Franks" (*Fuh-lin*) or "Fer-reng" of Byzantium.* The reign-period K'ai-hwang was 581-600. The word *kiao*, or "teaching," which has, since the introduction of Buddhism in A.D. 65, come to mean "faith" or "religion," means so here. In Confucius' time it meant "culture" generally; and Confucianism, Taoism, Legism, etc., were only *p'ai*—i. e. "rills" or "branches"—of general culture, which, as a whole, did not at first differentiate clearly between "religion," "law," and "administration."

² The short-lived Sui dynasty was succeeded by the more prudent and competent one of T'ang (618-907), which entirely broke up the Turkish Empire, and for a time ruled as overlord even of Persia. The reign-period T'ien-pao was 742-756. The word translated "Apostle" (*cf.* Heb. iii. 1, where it is even applied to Christ Himself) is still the "inspired man" or "holy one" of previous notes; it would be equally correct to translate "Apostles"; but no Chinese subsequent to Confucius has been seriously dignified with the title.

³ He who *chu* (manages) their *kiao* (faith). The words *chu-kiao* have been adopted by both Catholics and (I believe) Protestants to translate the word *episcopos*, or "overseer"; I suppose *sherîf* would be a corresponding Mussulman rank. M. Devéria has identified this overseer's name as Bedr ud Din, but I do not know how far he has travelled in search of evidence of this, or how far it is guesswork.

⁴ This evidently means "the Koran," as the Chinese classics are very rarely, if ever, now called Classical (or Scriptural) "Books," though the term once occurs in standard history 2000 years ago. Previous to Confucius, the "classics" were known simply as The Odes, The Changes, The Rites, The (History) Book; and, like the earliest ancient Jewish, Arabic, Greek, and other national "Scriptures," were usually repeated popularly from mouth to mouth, and not consigned to writing material at all, except for purposes of central record.

⁵ The term *li-pai* (rite-obedience), applied to foreign religious services, and thence by extension to "a week," "Sabbath," or "Sunday," was used

* M. Blochet thinks *Frum*, *Hrum*, or *Rum* is meant.

whilst at the same time a place will be available for prayers for his Majesty's long life.¹ The work was begun on the auspicious day² of the third moon in the first year, and completed on the twentieth day of the eighth moon in this same year. Tih³ and his friends, fearing lest all traces should disappear in the distant future, and that there should be no evidence available, have accordingly set up this slab as a record, in order to narrate the facts. Time when erected, first year of T'ien-pao, (sexagenary year) *jên-wu* ; mid-autumn, auspicious day.

P.S.—A letter from the late Father Hoang, besides citing much of the evidence given above, quotes a Chinese work upon the Seven Tenets (of Islām? no date given), stating that the Mussulman faith first reached China *viâ* the Southern Ocean and Canton. The learned priest also cites a report dated 1781 from the Governor of Shen Si to the Emperor, stating that there were then several thousand Mussulman families, with seven mosques, in Si-an Fu ; the largest mosque was the one established during the T'ang dynasty. He further states that the Mussulman work *Hwei-hwei Yüan-lai* (summarized in the last chapter) is considered by the learned in China to be a mere romance. Whilst confirming much that I have said in this and the last chapter on Islām and the Kaaba, Father Hoang adds no new confirmatory evidence beyond the two items here specified.

in connection with Buddhist functions at least a century before Islām was heard of. At present Protestant chapels are often spoken of as "*Li-pai Halls*."

¹ "Sacred age," or "his Majesty's long life," is an expression still in current use ; but the word elsewhere translated "inspired," "holy," etc., is here quite conventional, and in no way places the modern emperors in the category of "saints," or *divi*.

² That is, the first day. The year was 742.

³ Tih = Din. In accordance with regular Chinese practice, a part of a vague foreign designation is taken as a personal name.

PART VI

CHRISTIANITY, PRINTING, ETC.

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN ROAD TO CHINA

IN the month of April 1875, the late Archimandrite Palladius sent a remarkable communication to the *Chinese Recorder* of Shanghai calling attention to interesting evidence about early Christians discovered in a Chinese polemical work dated 1291. It will be remembered that Louis IX of France sent a monk, Rubruquis, on a conciliatory mission to the Mongol Court in 1253; and Rubruquis, who reached Mangu Khan's residence at Karakoram on December 27, 1253, has left us an account of the contest of rival religions which took place at intervals between that date and July 10, 1254, when Rubruquis set out on his return. The contest had been going on, and evidently after that still went on, for some years; for our Chinese author cited by Palladius relates how, in the autumn of 1256, Mangu Khan decided in favour of Buddhism, according only inferior rank to *Taoism*, Christianity, Confucianism, and the Mollahs. The words of Mangu Khan referring to Christians are: "The *tieh-sieh*, honouring *Mi-shih-ho*, trust to celestial life."

The learned Archimandrite considers that *tieh-sieh* is a transcription of the word *Tersa*, by which name Mussulmans called Christians. He adds that Chinese Mussulman works have no other name for Christians than *t'êh-êrh-sa*; *Isa* and *Êrh-sa* being the Mussulman and Chinese Mussulman names for "Jesus." Palladius thinks *Tersa* means "followers of Jesus," and is probably a word of Persian origin. He cites Père Ricci (died 1610) in support of this opinion, Ricci having been informed by an Armenian that Armenian Christians in Persia were still called *Terzai*.

The late eminent Russian scientist Dr. E. Bretschneider had already (in 1874) contributed to the *Chinese Recorder* an

account of a certain *Taoist* philosopher's forced visit to Genghiz Khan at Samarcand in 1221. Arriving as he proceeded at a place practically the same as the town of Yugur, or Bukur, on the Harashar-Kashgar road, the Chinese philosopher has left it on record that he was welcomed outside the town by the chief of the *tieh-sieh*. Dr. Bretschneider, on the authority of some notes already published by Palladius in Russia during the year 1872, observed that the Persians from Sassanide times (say, from 400) had made use of the word *Tersa* to designate Christians.

According to d'Herbelot, who is cited by the late Gabriel Devéria (*Journal Asiatique*, 1896), *Tersa*, or "ascetic," is the opposite of *Parsa*, or "devout"; but, whatever its exact meaning and derivation, it seems to be a fact quite accepted by all the authorities quoted that, when Kublai Khan moved the Mongol throne from the desert to modern Peking, the use of this particular word to signify "Christians" quite disappeared in favour of another and totally different appellation, which it is unnecessary for present purposes to discuss here.

It will be remembered that in the account of the Nestorian stone published in the *Dublin Review* for October 1902¹ mention is made not only of *Mi-shi-ho*, or the Messiah, but also of the word *tah-so*, which appears in the text of the inscription in connection with a Nestorian priest. In the *T'oung-pao* of December 1895, M. Schlegel, of Leyden, first suggested the identity of this word with the Persian *Tersa*. That by these two syllables the Chinese intended the sound *tar-sa* is plain from such translated Sanskrit and Turkish words as *dhar-ma*, *tar-khan*, *sa-ma*, *sa-la*, etc., which, at the same date, the Chinese endeavour to reproduce with exactly the same characters used as phonetics. Moreover, I have, with the kind assistance of Mr. J. D. Rees, M.P., and Professor Hope Hogg, endeavoured to ascertain what eminent Persian and Semitic scholars have still to say about the word. One of the former writes: "As to modern Persian *tarsā*, Pahlavi *tarsāk*, meaning 'Christian,' I have always supposed it to be an adjective, formed from *tarsīdan*, 'to fear.' . . . Syriac was the language of the Christians with whom the Persians were brought into contact."

¹ Reproduced in this volume.

On the other hand, a Semitic authority writes : " I can't think of any Semitic explanation of *tarsāk*."

A third suggestion is that, as the Arabs before Islām called the Christian monks *rāhib*, or " fearers (of God)," the Pehlevi speakers may have used the word *tarsāk* in imitation of the Arab *rāhib*, and in the same sense. One esteemed Persian authority tells me that *tarsā* is also used to denote Lamaists—*i. e.* Buddhists.

There is a passage in the Chinese *Northern History*, and another in the *History of the Sui Dynasty*, both referring to the manners of the petty Samarcand states, just about the time (560-600) when they were placed under Turkish influence, after the West Turks had driven out Ephthalite political influence from the Oxus, and established the centre of their own empire at a city to the west of Issyk-kul, north-east of Tashkend.

The following clauses touching the state of Ts'ao, a little north-west of Samarcand, cannot refer to a later period than 618, and probably are the outcome of the Chinese mission to Persia a few years previous to that date : " In this state there is a *Têh-sih* deity ; the various states eastward from the West Sea all venerate and serve it." Then follows a not very intelligible account of a huge metal statue, and of a periodical sacrifice of animals for public feasts in connection with this worship. Alexander Cosmas (530-550) mentions the existence of Christianity in Merv and Samarcand in the fifth century.

The Annals of the T'ang Dynasty, which began to reign in 618, discussing the group of petty states round Samarcand, manifestly speak of a period only later than the above by a few years. They say : " West Ts'ao is the Ts'ao State of the Sui Dynasty ; its place of rule is at Sêh-ti-hên city. North-east, at Yüeh-yü-ti city, there is a temple of the *Têh-sih* deity, whom the people of the state worship." It is difficult to see to what this *Têh-sih* can refer if not to the faith of *Tersa*—*i. e.* Christianity. So far I have not been able to identify the two cities mentioned, but Professor Chavannes thinks the first is Ishtikhan, and certainly the Chinese syllables are etymologically quite " sound " for that translation.

The allusions in Chinese history to the worship of the spirit, or deity, of heaven are very numerous, but there seems to be

no other instance where such worship can be clearly, or even presumably, connected with Christianity. The various nomadic Tartar tribes, from 200 B.C. to A.D. 600, are constantly said to have engaged in this worship. Subsequently to the latter date the same thing is said of the Nepaulese (then first discovered by China, and called Ni-p'o-lo), and of the Arabs (called Tazik), with the later addition that about 714 the Arab envoys declined to kneel to the Chinese Emperor on the ground that they never knelt to any mortal; only to the spirit of heaven. Kao-ch'ang and Yen-k'i, two states corresponding to modern Turfan and Harashar, are repeatedly said to have worshipped Buddha concurrently with the spirit of heaven; which, indeed, is what we might expect of states always more or less under Tartar suzerainty, but both on the Buddhist highroad from India and Cabul to China. Persia and Hwah (a doubtful Ephthalite state, possibly Ghur, adjoining Persia) worshipped both the spirit of fire and the spirit of heaven; and Ts'ao (not the above Ts'ao, but a state written with a different character, and corresponding to Cabul) worshipped the spirit of heaven with great show of splendour. In these last three cases, referable to the period 450-600, it is certainly possible that some form of Christianity or Manicheism may be meant, for the period in question embraces the great persecutions of Christians and Mazdakians by the kings of Persia.

One or two countries are said to be worshippers of both Buddha and the *hièn* spirit; this is said of Samarcand and of Khoten, in both cases having apparent reference to a period slightly subsequent to A.D. 600. Owing to the Persian fire-worship being sometimes called "fire *hien* spirit," or "fire *hien*," it seems possible that the worship of *hien* (which appears to be simply a newly-invented form of "heaven" dedicated solely to Tartar uses) has occasionally been confused by both Chinese and European savants with the worship of fire. It is supposed by some European translators that the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan Chwang, who visited the Western Turk Khan in the Issyk-kul Tashkend region about the year 631, found fire-worship to exist even amongst the Turks; but I suspect the real meaning is not "fire spirit," but "*hien* spirit," and I am very sceptical about the true Turks having ever worshipped in the Zoroastrian way at any date. It is well known that the

Ouigour Turks patronized Manicheism both in Tartary and numerous Chinese cities where they traded or settled.¹

The Chinese annals record that Yezdigerd (the last of the Sassanide kings) perished at the hands of the conquering Arabs (at Merv) on his way to Tokhara. His son Piruz succeeded in escaping to the Turkish *jabgug* then ruling in Tokhara, and, with the friendly assistance of this prince, managed to make his way to the Chinese Emperor. In 671, we are told on other Chinese authority, Piruz obtained the Emperor's permission to erect a "Persian temple" at the capital (modern Si-an Fu). As this temple was subsequently removed for private and personal reasons to a spot near the *hien* temple, and as we know well that Nestorians and Manicheans both also possessed temples there at the time, it is reasonable to assume that Piruz constructed a Fire Temple, which was subsequently moved to a spot near the Tartar temple, and that all four religions existed amicably together; the fourth religion being the ancient undefined "worship of heaven."

I may add one other observation. The Nestorian priests were by the Chinese called "great virtue bonzes"; but the Chinese official histories tell us that in the year 731 the king of Central India sent one of these personages on a mission to the Chinese Court; and it clearly appears that, since Hün Chwang's visit to Central India in or about 640, China had opened up direct land communications with it by way of Nepaul. It is therefore just possible that the Syrian priests of Malabar may have occasionally found their way to China overland.

¹ Within the past year or two Dr. Aurel Stein and M. Paul Pelliot have separately made two great hauls of ancient documents at the "Thousand Buddha Cave" Temple of Tun-hwang, where they had been cached for 1000 years: there were both Manichean and Ouigour documents among them.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLIEST CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA

THE more we unfold the hidden mysteries of Chinese literature, the more have we reason to admire and approve the inborn aptitude of that people for recording essential facts. The story of the introduction of Christianity into China is as follows :—

About 290 years ago (1623) some Chinese workmen were excavating an old site within the city bounds of Chou-chih, about fifty miles to the south-west of Si-an Fu, which latter metropolis was at the beginning of the seventh century, after many centuries of division and strife, once more the capital of united China. In the middle of the eighth century, the Chinese Emperor had to fly from his capital, which place, as well as Chou-chih (763), was for some time in the hands of the warlike Tibetans. These people were then, for the first time in history, asserting themselves and their Hindoo Buddhism as a civilized and religious state on a footing of perfect equality with China.

The workmen in 1623 above mentioned discovered a strange slab, in a perfect state of preservation, and covered with beautifully-formed Chinese characters, besides certain minor inscriptions in an unknown alphabet. The date of it was 781 (Christian era). Naturally the governor of the *hien*—or the district magistrate, as we call him now-a-days—very soon heard of this interesting antiquarian discovery within his jurisdiction. Being, like most civilian officials, of a literary turn of mind, he at once gave orders that it should be taken to a *Taoist* temple at the Imperial capital, a good day's journey distant, for safe-keeping there. He then had it provided with a fine shed, in order to protect it from the weather, and he also caused to be set up alongside of it another stone of his own, carefully

recording the circumstances under which the original had been found.

An event of this kind, even in these degenerate days, thus always excites great interest in China. Of course, when the stone of 781 was found in 1623, numerous literary men had already examined it at Chou-Chih, and naturally still more of them flocked to the Taoist temple at Si-an to examine it *in situ* close at hand. It was found to contain about 1800 Chinese characters, and, as is usual in China with solemn documents of record, it was found to be composed in a very ponderous and recondite, not to say obscure, style, bristling with classical and philosophical quotations from the ancient books of China : these 1800 words contain no fewer than 400 ready-made expressions culled from the classics (*Book of Odes, Book of Changes, Book of History*); Confucius' and Lao-tsz's works; the philosophical "schools," and so on; all fitted on to Christian doctrinal words, such as "triune," "the flesh," "sin," etc., etc. There is scarcely any new phraseology.

Amongst the many curious scholars who visited the tablet at Si-an Fu in 1624 or 1625 was a *kü-jên*, or "master of arts," named Chang Kêng-yü, who had, about eighteen years previously, met Père Ricci, the Jesuit, in Peking. It must here be explained that Ricci had gained a first footing in South China in 1583; this was at Chao-k'ing (locally Shiu-heng), where he had composed for the information of the Chinese, and had extensively circulated, a map of the world. In 1589 he came to the conclusion that, with so many ignorant and despised bonzes in China, and with such an exaggerated respect throughout the empire for book-learning, it would be better for him to abandon the ascetic externals of a monk or mendicant, and with his fellow-Jesuits to adopt the ordinary dress of a well-bred Chinese gentleman; at the same time allowing the hair and beard to grow, in order that there might be no confusion in the literary mind between Catholic priests and Buddhist bonzes. In 1598 Ricci made his way to Peking, where, after various disappointments, he at last, in 1605, succeeded in buying a house: and thus it was Mr. Chang met him.

This Chang Kêng-yü lost no time in taking a rubbing of the stone, and he sent a copy by ordinary courier to Hangchow—the Kinsai of Marco Polo, near modern Ningpo and Shanghai.

The world is indebted to Père Hoang, of Nanking,¹ for having discovered, in a very rare native compilation treating of the celebrated tablet, a reproduction of the Hangchow correspondent's original notes upon this interesting event. The name of the latter was Li Wo-ts'un, or, as the Jesuits called him, "Dr. Léon." He also had made the acquaintance of Ricci, and of Ricci's companion Pantoja, at Peking, and is stated, indeed, to have been himself a Christian. On the 21st of May, 1625, which is the first positive date we have in connection with the matter, Dr. Léon records how he received his friend's letter enclosing a copy of the inscription, and asking: "Can this be the same religion as that of our mutual friend Ricci at Peking?" Dr. Léon lost no time in communicating the great news in person to the nearest Jesuits; and of course the tidings would spread like wildfire to the missions already established by them on the Yangtze, and also to those of Peking, Shan Tung, and Shan Si in North China.

The first European missionary to visit the stone was Père Trigault, who was sent that same year (1625) by his superior, Père Rho (of the Shan Si mission), to Si-an Fu in Shen Si province, and specially for the purpose. A Latin translation of the Chinese, or main inscription, was at once sent to Rome, and it is thought highly probable that Trigault himself was, from his known qualifications, the chief agent in evolving it; but there are so many abbreviations, made in Portuguese style, that the reproductions of it are not without uncertainties as to the latinity thereof. In 1627 Père Terrenz made the first translation of the Syriac portion, which consists chiefly of Nestorian priests' names. In 1628 a very clear and faithful *précis* of part of the inscription appeared in Paris; but it was not until 1631 that an absolutely complete translation in Italian was received, or at least appeared anonymously, at Rome: there is some reason to believe that this Italian version was itself merely a scrupulous rendering of an extremely careful Portuguese translation; but, whatever its origin, it was at once rendered into Latin from the Italian by the Jesuit Kircher in Rome. Père Diaz, junior, is the sole authority for the positive statement that the stone was found in 1623, which is in any case probable, as it must have taken time to move

¹ Died October 1909.

it, inspect it, translate it, and send a copy to Hangchow by May 1625.

The last Ming emperors, although uneasy about admitting foreigners into China in consequence of the then threatening ambition of the Japanese, themselves mixed up with Christians, were disposed to take advantage of Jesuit ability for two separate reasons. First, they wished to utilize their knowledge of gunnery in order to check rebellions and stave off the menacing Manchu invasion; and, secondly, the Imperial calendar was in a terrible mess, and it was only too manifest to many thinking men that the Jesuits possessed a monopoly of sound mathematical knowledge at Peking. Hence, largely through the influence of "Paul Zi" (Sü Kwang-k'i, baptized 1604) they managed to hold their ground with the successful invaders during the wars which ushered in the new Tartar dynasty. On the whole, the two first Manchu rulers (1644-1662-1723) were disposed, in spite of hostile advice, to treat the missionaries well, even from a religious point of view; and when, largely in consequence of the intrigues of a jealous Mussulman rival in astronomy (1659-64), restrictions, not to say mild persecutions, became the order of the day, the Jesuits even found an opportunity of personally calling the attention of the Emperor K'ang-hi to the Nestorian stone inscription, the literary style of which he very much admired (1690). But he was very firm to the last in his determination not to allow his toleration to overstep the bounds of political prudence, and it was he who put to them the following pertinent question: "If all this be true, how is it that God waits over 1600 years before giving us any information; and how is it the Chinese are left out in the cold, and only the barbarians mentioned?" Neither he, nor the Mussulman enemy of the Jesuits, ever hinted that the stone discovered was not perfectly genuine.

After K'ang-hi's death, evil times for the missionaries set in. The stone was by no means forgotten in Europe, but, beyond criticisms and expressions of opinion, little was done in the direction of research. The Jesuit Bartoli, who had access to all the religious archives after he was summoned to Rome in 1650, was himself, as well as many others less amply equipped with material for correct judgment, in some doubt about the

now unquestionable Nestorian character of the tenets proclaimed by the stone. Even so late as 1718, Père le Comte wrote that Chinese history recorded nothing about the progress of Christianity. It was not until 1735 that Père du Halde, in the course of his translations from Chinese history, came across a very important Imperial edict, dated 845, in which specific mention is made of a Christian religion similar to that described on the Nestorian stone. By this edict foreign religions of all kinds were practically extirpated throughout China. Père du Halde does not appear to have translated the histories himself so much as he depended upon the superior Chinese knowledge of Père Hervieu; but he supervised at least, and he accepted the responsibility. Père Gaubil's remarks on the same subject were not published until 1814, and in the meantime the elder de Guignes (1721-1800) had had, in his capacity of academician, ready access to Gaubil's papers and manuscripts, and had appropriated his views, without naming their source, in his well-known *Histoire des Huns*. In the same way, the younger de Guignes (1759-1845) appropriated Père Basile's dictionary, and published it as his own.

In the year 1854 the exceedingly modest and able Protestant missionary named Alexander Wylie made a very excellent English translation of the inscription. This indefatigable inquirer also discovered, in 1855, the fact that the original edict of 638, mentioned in the inscription itself, was on record in a certain extant work. A few years later the Russian Archimandrite Palladius actually found it, tracing it step by step, from compilation to compilation, back to a well-known publication of about the year 950. In 1858 the imaginative French Orientalist Pauthier gave his attention to the Nestorian tablet, and published a very passable translation of his own, but with such a flourish of trumpets that Dr. Legge, even so late as 1865, imagined that Gaubil's important discoveries had been made by Pauthier. Moreover, Pauthier's hostility against his rival Julien was such that his critical judgment was often made subservient to this personal pique. In 1888 Dr. Legge himself made a new translation; but even up to that date no absolutely perfect copies or rubbings had been obtained. In 1866 the Protestant missionary Alexander Williamson actually visited the stone, but its emplacement amid rubbish

happened to be such at the moment that the Syrian inscriptions were hidden from his view. It was not until 1879 that the Austrian party of travellers headed by Count Széchényi for the first time obtained a satisfactory rubbing of the Syrian portions. In 1886 an American colporteur named Thorne secured a new impression of the whole inscription, being himself on the spot ; and in 1891 the foreign ministers at Peking, moved by the consular body in Shanghai, succeeded in inducing the Chinese Government to have the stone at once roofed in, in order to preserve its precious inscriptions from further ravages of time. In the meantime, the late Père Havret, S.J., had applied his acute mind to the all-important subject, and for ten years previous to his death he had been giving as much attention and leisure as his shattered health and his religious exercises allowed to the elucidation of all the contested theological meanings possibly lying concealed within this mosaic of Chinese literary composition.

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The Chinese inscription of 1800 odd words ends, as is usual with commemorative documents carved upon stone tablets, by giving the date of erection, which was during the spring of the year 781, being the second year of Divus Têh (Virtus) of the T'ang dynasty. It begins by defining the mysterious attributes of A-lo-ha (Elohim, or God), and then proceeds with a rapid sketch of the Creation, as told in the Book of Genesis. Innocent man is next exposed to the wiles of So-tan (Satan), whence unrest, heresy, and schism. After which "our three-one divided body the high and mighty Mi-shi-ha" (Messiah, or anointed one) is announced, and a Virgin gives birth to the Holy One in Ta-ts'in (Syrian part of Roman Empire). Persians, who have noticed the herald star, now come with presents. From the Incarnation the account proceeds to the Redemption. Having fulfilled what was written in the twenty-four books (*i. e.* as counted by the Babylonian Jews as contrasted with the twenty-two books of Palestine), the Messiah founded an "ineffable three-one new teaching." After confounding the demon and indicating the way to salvation, he ascended into heaven, leaving behind him the twenty-seven books (New Testament) to explain his views. The inscription proceeds to discuss baptism and the

sign of the Cross. The followers of this faith shave the crown and allow the beard to grow, keep no slaves, and recognize no distinction of persons; amass no riches, and purify themselves in strict retreat by silence, prayer, and watching. The beauties of the doctrine are pointed out.

Now comes the historical portion; the words in brackets are purely running comments of my own, intended to explain matters:—In the time of Divus Maximus [627–649] a *shang-têh* [“high virtue”] from Ta-ts’in state named Olopên brought some *chên-king* [“true canons”] to China. He arrived at Ch’ang-an [Si-an Fu] in the ninth year [635]. His books were translated, and he was placed under the care of my lord Fang Hüan-ling [an author on law well known to history], receiving permission to preach. In the twelfth year [638] a decree reverts to the subject, styling Olopên a *ta-têh* [“great virtue”] and alluding to his canonical books and images [the original decree, since found by Wylie, uses the word “Persia” instead of Ta-ts’in, and “canon and teaching” instead of “canons and images”]. It goes on to sanction a monastery and twenty-one *tu-sêng* [redeeming bonzes, a borrowed Buddhist expression], presenting also an Imperial portrait to decorate its walls withal. The scribe cites some facts from ancient and contemporary history, and by paraphrasing an old historical statement that “the best men were always elected rulers,” manages to slip in an ingenious *mot* or *double entendre* which, by adopting the Nestorian word for Christian, may mean either “they use no cult but Christianity,” or “they take the highest models for their law.” He also changes the old historical word *hien* [“virtuous”] to *têh*, apparently so as to connect ancient history with the word adopted for “priest” by Olopên. He goes on to state how Divus Celsus [649–683] carried on in his own person this respect of his father for Olopên, who was created “Great Lord of the Law, Protector of the State”; and how the new religion was preached in ten provinces. But during the reign period 698–700 [of the usurping dowager, infatuated by a Buddhist priest] certain Buddhists broke out into shamelessness [probably alluding to the “raking together of money in 700 for making a huge image of Buddha”], and in 712 a contemptible set of literates made sport of the religion [this was a year of palace intrigues and

abdications]. Fortunately two noble priests from the West, the Buddhist Lo-han [Arhân] and the Great Virtue Kih-lieh [this last person is elsewhere stated to have been sent to China in 732 by the King of Persia] succeeded in remedying the ruin. Divus Cæruleus [712-756] took certain favourable steps, and about 742 General Kao Lih-shī [a well-known and faithful eunuch] was directed to place portraits of five *divi antecessores* in the temple. In the year 746 a bonze from Ta-ts'in named Kih-ho appeared, and the bonzes Lo-han [above mentioned] and P'u-lun [Samantas'âstra], with five others, were commanded to a function. Divus Severus [756-762] had five more monasteries erected in the five prefectures of Ling-wu [near Si-an Fu], etc. [not named, but probably including Chou-chih]. Divus Alter [762-779] always made a point of sending presents of incense and food at Christmas time. During the first reign period [780-783] of his present most sacred Majesty [779-805], the very learned and distinguished bonze I-sz, who had come to China from his own king's capital, and had accompanied as adviser the General Kwoh Tsz-i [one of the best-known men in history] during one of his northern campaigns [against the Ougours, and also earlier against the Tibetans at Chou-chih in 763], is favourably mentioned. He made presents of glassware and gold-embroidered carpets [both mentioned elsewhere as coming from Ta-ts'in]. Religion now flourished in numerous monasteries, old and new. The most distinguished and virtuous Tah-so [M. Schlegel identifies this with the Persian *têrsa*, "Christian"] never heard of anything so fine; but the white-habited illustrious scholars [the word *king*, "illustrious" or "sublime," is used in the tablet to denote Christianity] are now seen in their own persons, and it is desired to commemorate the facts on stone.

Then follows the "eulogy," or poetical composition, which usually sums up a Chinese historical record:—

1. How the *chên chu* [Verus Dominus] *fên-shên* [divided his body] and came into the world to save and redeem all.

2. How the *king-kiao* [illustrious or sublime faith] was introduced under Divus Maximus, Emperor Ornatus [627-649]; how the scriptures were translated and monasteries founded.

3. How under Divus Celsus [649-683] the *chên tao* [vera doctrina] spread over China.

4. [Omitting the usurping dowager period, 683-712.] How Divus Cæruleus [712-756] did well.

5. How Divus Severus [756-762] quelled various disturbances in China and restored order.

6. How Divus Alter [762-779] also did well. [The above are evidently the five *divi antecessores* mentioned already.]

7. How [the reigning monarch spoken of by his reign period] Kien-chung [780-783] displayed his many virtues.

Dated 7th of 1st moon [about the end of February] 781 Great-Planet, *sên-wên* day [Sun-day, *sabbath*], at which date the *fah-chu* [law-lord, or "bishop"] Ning-shu had cognizance of the *king* [Christian] congregations in the East.

Written out by Colonel Lü Siu-yen.

* * * * *

Père Cheikho, S.J., of Beyrout, has translated the Syriac portions, as to which the present writer of course knows nothing. There is little of historical interest recorded beyond the mere names of priests:—

1. Adam, chorepiscopus for Sinestan [China].

2. Time of the Patriarch Hananjesu, Catholic lord, chief over the bishops [evidently the man Ning-shu named above].

3. In the year 1092 of the Greeks [counting from the year of the Peace of Babylon, 311 B.C., and the Seleucus division of Syria, etc.], the lord Jabezboujid, chorepiscopus of Koumdan [also the Arab name for Si-an Fu], the capital, son of Milis of Balkh in Tahouristan, set up this stone. [T'u-ho-lo, Tokhara, or Tahouristan, is frequently mentioned in connection with Persian and Ta-ts'in missions.]

4. A number of other priests' names, such as Jacob, Sergius, Simeon, Paul, John, Zachariah, Ephraim, Gabriel, etc., etc.

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In what precedes there is little attempt to do more than sum up what Père Havret himself gathers from the evidence he sets out before us. In the following short statement the present writer explains his own views touching foreign religions in China, for he is of opinion that not only Père Havret, but Chavannes, Devéria, Edkins, Wylie, and many others who have tried to unravel the confusion, have omitted to go far enough back in estimating the value of the words "spirit of heaven."

The original Chinese "religion," apart from mere nature-

worship, was *Taoism*, a sort of Platonic philosophy, the excellences of which soon became so smothered in alchemy and charlatanism that it has never regained credit for long at a time. Confucius introduced a system of practical political virtue which soon superseded *Taoism*: he himself visited the founder of *Taoism*, but was unable to appreciate so much obscurity. Previous to the introduction of Buddhism in A.D. 62, the attention of the Chinese had for at least two centuries been directed to the fact that the Hiung-nu (forebears of the Turks) worshipped *T'ien shên*, or the "Spirit of Heaven." Buddhism, *Taoism*, and Confucianism were nearly always rivals in China after this, but I can find no trace of any fourth religion previous to the seventh century of our era. The Turks of A.D. 500 are also stated to have worshipped the Spirit of Heaven. The powerful Sien-pi, or Mongoloid Tungusic Tartars (who monopolized dominion in North Asia after the Chinese had crushed the Hiung-nu, but before the rise of the word "Turk" and the power of the Turks or later Hiung-nu), never seem to have either worshipped the Spirit of Heaven themselves, or to have sanctioned such worship by the Chinese under their rule. On the other hand, they sanctioned Buddhism. From A.D. 400 to 600 these Mongoloid Tartars of the Toba family, as horse-riding Tartars, not only ruled or exercised supreme influence over the whilom "horse empire" of the Hiung-nu, but also, as Chinese emperors, the northern parts of China. About 500-506 one of these Toba empresses, during a religious wave of repression, is officially stated in standard history to have made an exception of the *Hu T'ien-shên*, or "Spirit of Heaven of the Tartars." Owing to the vague word *Hu* including all Perso-Indians as well as all Turko-Mongols, it has been supposed by some of the learned French writers named that Mazdéanism or Manicheism had already found a footing in North China at this time. But, just exactly at this time, the rulers of the nomad Joujan (the Geougen, or supposed Avars of Gibbon), who were, as supreme khans, the lords of the then rising Turks, are mentioned to have been under the superstitious influence of a witch who prayed to the *T'ien shên* to restore to the khagan his deceased son, and even pretended to converse with the soul of the prince (a confederate), who replied that he was in *T'ien* above. As the witch in question was introduced to

the khagan by a *ni* (*i. e.* a *bhikchunî*, or mendicant Buddhist nun), and as *sramana* are distinctly mentioned to have been at the Joujan head-quarters, it is not likely that the Tobas, who were then trying to conciliate the Joujan, had any further object in view, when they made an exception, than to permit to the Hu, or Tartars, to continue their free worship of the long-known Spirit of Heaven, specifically mentioned in connection with Hun-Turks, ever since 200 B.C., as above explained. On the other hand, it is to be noticed that the celebrated pilgrim Hūan-chwang, or Hiouen-tsang, when 150 years after this (650) he visited the Western Turks of the Issyk-kul region, found that some of them at least were already fire-worshippers; whilst again, between these two dates, 506 and 650, some at least of the people of the country now known as Harashar are distinctly stated in Chinese history to have worshipped the *T'ien-shên*.

There is specific mention in the years 621 and 631 of both Mazdéans and Manicheans coming to China. There is also ample proof that when the Ouigours (also of Hiung-nu descent) succeeded to the khanly power of the Turks, the Ouigours took the Manicheans under their protection, and succeeded in establishing them not only in North China, but also along the Yangtze river. In 794 the Ouigour influence is even mentioned in Yün Nan and Sz Ch'wan, in connection with the struggle for power between the early Siamese and the early Tibetans. It will be noticed that both Mazdéans and Manicheans are specifically mentioned to have arrived in China before the Nestorians under Olopên arrived in 638.

The following points are to be noticed in attempting to unravel the tangled web. At about the time when Persian missionaries first came, a new written character for "Heaven" seems to have been introduced: possibly it was one of the thousand new characters officially stated to have been introduced by the Toba dynasty, or recognized by them after years of popular use. The old character *t'ien* ("Heaven"), when applied to the worship of Tartars and foreigners, is written with an additional qualifying "letter" having the meaning of "spirit"; the historians differ as to whether this new character should be read *t'ien* or *hien*, and add that in the Si-an Fu localities *t'ien* is usually called *hien*. I take it that, as is still

the case in the Sin-ning region (locally pronounced Llin-nen, as in Welsh) near Canton, the initial *t'* is or was pronounced *h* : thus in Sin-ning *t'yn* ("heaven") is pronounced *hyn*, and *t'yt* ("iron") is pronounced *hyt*. It is also likely, as the late M. Devéria has pointed out, that, the direct worship of Heaven having always in China been reserved for the Emperor in person, a new compromise-word was desirable for the heaven of the barbarian. Hence we find the words *hwo-t'ien* ("fire-heaven") and *t'ien-shên* ("heaven-spirit") applied, sometimes promiscuously, to both Mazdéans and Manicheans ; not only so, but to the worship of the then contemporary populations in Khoten and Kashgar. This new word *t'ien* or *hien* is never (contrary to what I once supposed) once applied to Nestorians, or, if we prefer to use the term, Christians. Both Manicheans and Nestorians are said to come from Persia, and both equally from Ta-ts'in, and even Tahouristan (Balkh). This is partly explained by an Imperial decree dated 745, which explains that, for reasons stated, the Emperor had decided that Ta-ts'in was a more appropriate name for the place of Nestorian origin than Persia. Moreover, it must be here stated that no single Chinese is ever known to have at any time visited or seen Ta-ts'in : hence, whilst the term applied in a vague way to the great unknown civilization specifically stated to be west of the Ural region and also west of Chaldæa, the Chinese at no time had any clearer notion of its extent than Rome had of the Seres of Serica. By "Serica" the Romans could at the utmost have imagined Si-an Fu, knowing nothing of new territories like Corea, the Yangtze, Foochow, Canton, and Japan, or of divided Chinese empires. In the same way the Chinese by "Ta-ts'in" could only conceive the places nearest to the limit of their own ocular observation, knowing nothing of new territories like Spain, the Rhine, France, Germany, and England, or of divided Roman empires. The word "Persia" (*Po-sz*, or *Pa-s*) does not appear in Chinese history before A.D. 455, when, after a long break in communication with Parthia and the West, North China (the Toba Tartar Emperors) began to receive innumerable embassies from all states between North India, Persia, and the Ural. Their own history states, however, that relations were purely those of courtesy ; no influence of any kind was possessed or claimed.

The fact that first Parthia and Rome, then Rome and Persia, had been alternate possessors of Georgia (Iberia) and Armenia ; and the fact that the Jews had split up into the Palestine and Babylon schools since China first heard of Ta-ts'in, would amply justify any confusion in the Chinese mind as to where Persia ended and where Ta-ts'in began.

When, after many centuries of division between Tartars and pure Chinese, the Sui dynasty had at last (589) completely reunited China, it was found that the ancient Ta-ts'in was beginning (probably through the Avars, Huns, and Turks) to be spoken of as Fuh-lin¹ (Fer-reng, or Frank). Accordingly we find in standard Chinese history, that in or about 610 the second Sui Emperor ardently desired to open up communication with Fuh-lin. After the accession of the T'ang dynasty (618) the name "Ta-ts'in" totally disappears in favour of "Fuh-lin," except in religious matters ; but even here priests of some sort, *Mu-dje* or *Mu-du* (not yet identified) are sent to China in 719 from Fuh-lin through the Turk viceroy of Tahouristan or the Oxus region. These same *mu-dje* are stated, on the Ouigour stone recently discovered on the river Orkhon, to have introduced the "true faith" there about the eighth century, whence it has been prematurely assumed that the Ouigours, too, had Christians among them. Whether Fuh-lin means Ferenghi or not, it is certain that the T'ang rulers, when they used that word, only had in mind that part of the unknown western civilization bounded by the Mediterranean and Persia, and possibly by the Arabs and Turks of the Jaxartes and Oxus.

In addition to the Manicheans,—either those of Mani (278) or the reformer Mazdek (500), who are to be absolutely identified by the specific Chinese statements as to what their tenets were,—there is frequent mention of the *Muh-hu* or *Muh-hu-pah*. Owing to the similarity in appearance between the character *pah* and the above-explained new character *hien*, or *t'ien*, competent inquirers into the matter, like MM. Devéria and Chavannes, have been unable to satisfy themselves whether the Magi (Persian, *mogh*) or Magúpat (*Maubad*, *Mobed*, or "chief Magi") are meant. Their name is, in Chinese extracts, usually preceded by the words Ta-ts'in, and followed by the words "*hien* (or *t'ien*) bonzes." Hence it is not clear whether,

¹ See note to p. 266 on M. Blochet's discovery.

if *magi*, they were Mazdéans or Manicheans ; and, if Manicheans, whether original or “ reformed.”

Manes is known to have blended Christianity with his Mazdéan basis of thought, and the Chinese state that the Manicheans tried to pass themselves off as Buddhists. Hence we cannot be surprised at the Chinese lumping all religions introduced from the West as “ outside *tao* or paths ”—*i. e.* heretical forms of Buddhism—when we find one of them coquetting with both Buddhism and Christianity, and all three coming from the same region. Nor can we blame them for sometimes applying the same terms *ta-têh-sêng*, or “ great virtue bonzes,” to both Nestorians and Manicheans, and even imagining Nestorians to be a kind of Buddhist. Of course, Christians could never admit that Jesus Christ’s doctrines were or could have been in any way debtor for ideas to Buddhist missionaries antecedent to Christ ; but in the unsettled condition of faiths which prevailed during the struggle between Judaism, Christianity, Mazdéanism, and Buddhism it can hardly be denied that at least Christ’s followers and preachers, who certainly were extensive debtors for ideas to Judaism, may also have been debtors to the other competing religions ; just as, two centuries later, Mahometanism was indebted to both Judaism and Christianity. Christianity will be none the weaker for finding a *modus vivendi* with history. In more modern times the Chinese Mussulmans, and even the ablest Manchu emperor, have proved to their own satisfaction that the Ouigour Manicheans of the seventh century were no other than the Oui-oui, or Houi-houi (Mussulmans) of the eighteenth. This bizarre error has been ably exposed by the late M. Devéria, who considers—but does not clearly explain when, how, or by whom—that the transliterated word *mo-ni* (Manes) has been rashly identified with the transliterated word *mu-luh* (mollah). All students of Chinese know how the word *Houi-hêh* (Ouigour) insensibly grew—no one knows exactly how or when—into *Houi-houi* (Mussulman). Hence the huge mistake made by the Emperor K’ienlung touching Mussulmans.

The discovery and examination of Chinese texts is an interminable process ; but, so far, it appears to me that available evidence points to the following provisional conclusions :—

1. Tartar worship of Heaven existed alongside of Chinese Taoism-Confucianism long before our era.

2. Buddhism from about A.D. 65 immediately affected both Tartar and Chinese religious ideas.

3. Mazdéans and Manicheans appeared in China next in point of date ; but the Chinese do not distinguish clearly ; still less do they distinguish between early and reformed Manicheans.

4. Neither of the last two can be certainly identified, either in Tartary or in China, before the beginning of the seventh century.

5. No Christianity of any kind was heard of, even in the faintest way, previous to the same date, in either China or Tartary (unless the *Terzai* were Christians).

6. Probably the first glimmerings of Christianity appeared in the appropriations from it grafted upon Manicheism.

7. The Nestorians lost no time in righting this wrong to their religious interests by following immediately upon the heels of the Manicheans in order to explain the true doctrine to the Chinese.

8. The Nestorians did not regard themselves as such, or as heretics or schismatics, but as Christians pure and simple—orthodox as they supposed. Though modern Catholics may discern heresy in the doctrine, especially when stated as it is in a mosaic of ready-made quotations from Chinese philosophy, the Nestorians had no such contentiousness or heresy in their minds, except as against Manicheism and Buddhism. They called their bishop a “Catholic lord.”

9. Olopên, whoever he was, probably first introduced Christianity into China : it was, subject to imperfection in the recording instrument, genuine Christianity, and the friends of Ricci at once recognized it as such.

* * * * *

There are one or two points only upon which I can venture to offer further criticism. Père Havret expressed a conviction that remains of Christian missions dating from the apostolic period would yet be found in Si-an Fu, which had already become a great capital in the second century B.C. As the Christian word Aloha is often written as though the same word as the Buddhist word Alohan (Arhân), so far from the Nestorians having borrowed (and we see, p. 277, there are 400

borrowings) a ready-made word from Buddhism, Père Havret thinks it possible the Buddhists may have got their word from the earlier Christians. This is surely rather too much to ask. Besides, the pilgrim Fah-hien, who began his travels in 399, had already used the word Arhân in his book.

As to the word "great Yao-sên-wên" in the date, I have not noticed any explanation of how Père Havret "got it," or what it means: the seven *yao* are the sun, moon, and five planets; surely the "great *yao*," or "sun," is better than any fanciful trisyllable, and *shêm-mên* (the older form of *sên-wên*) is not an unlikely form of *sab-bat*, especially as in some dialects the word *wên* is still pronounced *bun* or *băn*, and, as in the Chinese system of etymology, final *t* is considered the "entering tone" form of final *n*.

NOTE.—Père Havret's full Latin translation of the Nestorian stone inscription, originally published with the above chapter in the *Dublin Review*, is not reproduced here.

CHAPTER III

THE 'NESTORIANS' ONCE MORE

IT would have been a discovery of great importance if representations of Nestorian priests dating from the T'ang dynasty (618-906) had really been found in Chinese literature, and therefore, in order that no stone should remain unturned with a view to bringing possible evidence to light, I sent a reproduction of the Three in One picture¹ to the learned Nanking priest, Père Peter Hoang, who is probably one of the most profoundly-read men in China at the present moment.² His reply is written in Chinese, and I herewith give a translation of it, neither adding to nor omitting anything from the original:—

“I have received your letter, asking if the three figures on the ink-slab picture are Confucius, Lao-tsz, and Buddha, or if they have been borrowed from any literary record of the T'ang dynasty, and I have now to formulate my reply in six paragraphs as follow:—

“1. During the Ming dynasty one Ch'êng Kün-fang, a native of Hih *hien* in An Hwei province, manufactured very fine inks, upon which he impressed embossed pictures, which he divided into six categories—artistic, topical, officials, beautiful objects, Confucian maxims, and costumes. During the reign period Wan-lih of Divus Spiritualis (1573-1614) he sent supplies to Court and composed a work on inks in twelve chapters.

“2. At the same time a man from the same *hien* named Fang Yü-lu learnt from Ch'êng Kün-fang the art of making ink, and he also manufactured cakes of it, with pictures transferred upon them, in rivalry with the said Kün-fang. He likewise divided his pictorial representations into six groups, to wit,

¹ This refers to a picture discovered by Professor H. A. Giles, of Cambridge.

² This was written before his death.

government seals, national beauties, ancient curiosities, remarkable objects, and two other groups having two names, *i. e.* the *T'ai-mu* or *Fah-pao*, and the *T'ai-hüan*, or *Hung-pao*. He wrote a work on inks in six chapters.

“3. During the reign period Hwang-yu (1049-1053) of the Sung Emperor Divus Benevolens, a Buddhist priest named K'i-sung started the theory that *the three individuals had one aim in view*, meaning that the Confucian, Buddhist, and Taoist teachings might be united in one; and he accordingly composed a work in five chapters called (Mutual) *Support in Religion*, which is mentioned in the *Encyclopædia Wên-hien T'ung-k'ao*. His views had great vogue amongst the people during the Mongol (1200-1368), and Ming (1368-1644) dynasties; also during the first part of the present one. 'Three Faith Chapels' were built, and in them were worshipped the three images of Buddha, Lao-tsz, and Confucius, all in one hall. Some of the images were cast in copper or iron; others were carved out of scented woods, or moulded out of clay. During the K'ien-lung reign (1736-1795) of our present dynasty, there were 590 Three Faith Chapels in the province of Kiang Si. In the 6th month of the 9th year of that reign (summer of 1744), an Imperial decree commanded the viceroys and governors of the various provinces to issue prohibitory orders. During the Tao-kwang reign (1821-1850) there were still three chapels in Shan Si; and in the 7th moon of the 16th year an Imperial decree commanded the viceroys and governors of the various provinces to put a stop to all this, as is mentioned in the *Tung-hwa Luh*.

“4. These two personages Ch'êng and Fang, in figuring the three portraits of Buddha, Lao-tsz, and Confucius upon their inks, did so in allusion to the contemporaneous Three Faiths, and were not drawing upon any literary allusion of the T'ang dynasty.

“5. The four words 'unite three in one,' cut into the back of ink-slabs, are a portion of the text which appears in the astronomical chapter of the Han History (200 B.C.—A.D. 20); the whole of it runs: 'The original afflatus of the Great Extreme unites three in one,' and the word 'extreme' is here explained to mean 'centre.' But in the present allusion to the Three Faiths in One there is no reference whatever

to the original sense of the above sentence in the Han History.

“6. The three characters ‘may not rub’ carved upon the side of the ink-cake are not taken from any literary record, but have a quite commonplace signification, meaning simply that *this ink is specially intended to be kept by, and should not be ground down for use* in writing characters; because, if it were so ground down for ordinary use, then the bodies and heads of the effigies would be injuriously diminished, and by degrees obliterated, which would be an unworthy and irreverent proceeding. The work on inks by Mr. Fang also has ink-cakes with Buddhistic effigies alone, that is an encircled image of an old bonze squatting down: at the side of this one also¹ occur the same three characters ‘may not rub,’ which in like way mean that respect must be shown to him.”

Father Hoang, having alluded to two pieces of confirmatory evidence to be found in the *Tung-hwa Luh*, or Decrees of the present Manchu dynasty, I at once turned to that work, and discovered the two rescripts of 1744 and 1826, which I find I had already marked down ten years ago as important. I give translations below:—

6th month, *kia-yin* cycle-day (1744). The Board of Rites present a report to the effect that the Literary Chancellor for Ho Nan province has represented the existence in that region of a so-called Triple Religion with over 590 chapels containing images, the teacher of everlasting memory occupying a position inferior to those given to Buddha and Lao-tsz, an unorthodox arrangement calculated grievously to mislead the people, who vie with each other in squandering their substance for no other end than the destruction of proper doctrine; the chancellor recommends that the governor of that province be commanded strictly to prohibit such doings; and the board not only approves this recommendation, but advises that steps be taken gradually to introduce the sacred effigy into all libraries and charitable schools throughout the province; those of Buddha and Lao-tsz, on the other hand, being removed to separate temples, along with the priests attached to Buddhism and

¹ *i. e.* as in Mr. Giles's picture.

Taoism, who must only reside there ; and moreover that other provinces be notified to issue like prohibitions. His majesty agrees to this.

7th month, *jên-wu* cyclic day, being the new moon. Wang Chên-ki represents that in the Shou-yang *hien* city, and in other cities of Shan Si, there are temples of the Triple Religion, and that the most sacred Sage of the past, Confucius, is to be found in one and the same temple receiving the same worship as Buddha and Lao-tsz, a state of affairs contrary to the canons of worship. Let Shên K'i-hien issue circular instructions to all jurisdictions under his rule to have an immediate change made, and if any other provinces have similar joint temples with common worship, let all viceroys and governors concerned take identical steps to bring about a change for the better, in order to exalt the orthodox teaching.

It will be seen that Father Hoang (or more probably his amanuensis, for he is¹ now too old to copy out fair himself) says "Kiang Si" instead of "Ho Nan." This is owing to the ambiguous use of the word *Yü*, taken from an old name *Yü-chang*, a place once north, but later south of the River Yangtsze. Even M. Chavannes, in his masterly translation of Sz-ma Ts'ien's history, in alluding to the great battles of 500 B.C., often says "Kiang Si" instead of "Ho Nan," or possibly even "Hu Pêh." *Yü-chang* seems to have been in its oldest sense a mountain near Yün-yang in modern Hu Pêh, close to the Ho Nan frontier : later the full name was applied to Kiang Si ; but the "Yü province" always means "Ho Nan." It results from all these considerations, not only that Professor Giles's "Nestorians" cannot be proved to be such, but also that there is specific evidence distinctly proving that they are not and cannot possibly be such. Even with regard to the priest K'i-sung, stated to have "invented" the Triple Faith in 1049, there is confirmatory evidence of his existence in the Great Encyclopædia (*P'ei-wên Yün-fu*), where it is stated that "K'i-sung, leading teacher of the Ming faith during the Sung dynasty, possessed a collection of writings styled the *Sün-tsin Wên tsih*." It is not clear to what the "Ming Faith" or "Bright Teaching" refers ; but, as another literary quota-

¹ *i. e.* was ; he died at the age of 84.

tion in the same encyclopædia couples it with the *Ta-kioh*, a common Buddhist expression having apparently something to do with the Pratyêka Buddha, and also couples the whole (*Ta-kioh Ming-kiao*) with *Pan-joh Chêng-yüan* or "Prajñâ's true source" as being "harmless beliefs affected by the populace," it is plain that K'i-sung was a teacher of Buddhism in the first instance, whatever later novelties he may have introduced.

It is evident that Professor Giles, when in his *Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art* he describes a sixteenth-century picture of Confucius, Lao-tsz, and Buddha as being a T'ang dynasty picture¹ of Christ and two Nestorians, has, to use an old expression of his own dating over twenty years back, found a huge mare's nest, and has solemnly laid an egg in it.

P.S.—Since the above lines were written, the native librarian of the Shanghai Jesuits' Chinese library has discovered and sent to me the accompanying sketch¹ from a *Taoist* work, published according to Wylie in 1640, called the Chinese characters. Here Mr. Giles's "Christ and two Nestorians" are plainly described as "Confucius, Buddha, and Lao-tsz."

¹ The picture sent by Père Hoang, and not again printed here, was reproduced in the *T'oung Pao* (Series II, Vol. VIII, Article No. 5). Mr. Giles's picture appeared, of course, in his book above cited.

CHAPTER IV

PAPER AND PRINTING IN CHINA

THE discoveries of Dr. Aurel Stein in the neighbourhood of Khoten have had the unexpected effect of clearing up several mysteries in connection with ancient Chinese literature. It will be remembered that, in his paper read before the Royal Geographical Society on June 16, 1902, he spoke of having found at Niya "numerous narrow pieces of wood bearing Chinese characters," mostly, it appears, from 8 to 9 inches in length, and carrying upon them each but one single line of written character. He also found amongst these slips of wood a pencil of tamarisk wood surmounted by a knob of bone. The key to all this is to be found in the Chinese histories, which state that the people of Khoten "use pencils made of wood, and have kept by them the letters and commissions received from China ever since the date [corresponding to] 120 B.C." The oldest of the wooden slips discovered by Dr. Stein bears the Chinese date equivalent to A.D. 269, at which date the Indo-Scythians of Afghanistan, or Ephthalites, were supreme in the Kashgar-Khoten region, and the new Chinese dynasty which had just succeeded to the Dragon Throne was quite unable to assert itself by force of arms in those Central Asian parts. Another statement found in sixth-century history is that the authorities of Khoten use jade as a seal with which to impress their wooden tablets.

These interesting coincidences of contemporary exploration with the official statements of the old Chinese annals have led several earnest students, notably M. Chavannes, of Paris, to examine more critically the innumerable casual statements scattered here and there over the dynastic histories; and the result has been to establish revised and much more accurate notions upon the subject of ancient penmanship and writing

materials than even the Chinese themselves have ever been able to gather,—from a comparison of vague and conflicting statements of fact,—since the total destruction of their literature over 2000 years ago.

It is now absolutely certain that no clay, leather, parchment, or papyrus was at any date ever used by the ancient Chinese for the purpose of making records, which fact alone goes far to negative any prehistoric connection with Egypt, Babylonia, or Persia ; touching which, moreover, there is (so far) not the faintest specific evidence to be found either in Eastern or Western records. It seems also equally certain that the Chinese never used a metal style to scratch characters upon wood, bamboo, or palm-leaves, as natives of India—for instance, the Banyan bankers—may be seen doing any day, even now, not only in India itself, but also in Singapore, and, perhaps, Hongkong. What the Chinese used was a stick or style of bamboo, such as one or two of the older historians describe as being very like the Chinese joiners' "ink-stick" or "wooden stick and line" of the sixteenth century (when first mentioned), and also like that of to-day. The ancient Chinese carpenters, it may be observed, used a red string for marking wood, and the very modern ones often use a European-made coloured lead pencil. As there were and are no bamboos in Khoten, the natives, and probably also the Chinese of that place, in imitating as best they could their own bamboo slips and styles, had perforce to avail themselves of the tamarisk, a tree which the Russian traveller Przewalski found thirty years ago all over the Tarim valley. From the most ancient times ink had been employed in China chiefly for the purpose of branding the foreheads of criminals ; but it had also been used, concurrently with varnish, for inscribing bamboo and wooden tablets with written communications. Presumably the ink was the same in both cases. Every one who has travelled in China knows what Chinese varnish is, and in many cases European residents have suffered severely from eye and skin affections brought on by living too soon in the confined atmosphere of a room or amongst furniture that has been recently varnished by a native carpenter. The tree which produces this varnish, the *Aleurites vernicia*, may be seen growing nearly all over the Yangtze valley, and its product is of great value for coating ships'

bottoms, lighting purposes, making umbrellas, ink, and potash, manuring the fields, etc.

For books nothing but bamboo seems to have been used, except that records of dynastic importance and state laws were also occasionally cast, from moulds, upon metal tripods in order to secure permanency. As the bamboo stem is usually no thicker than a brandy bottle, it follows that the plane surface available for writing characters can never be very broad; accordingly, we find that the most important works, such as the classics, were written upon slips of pared bamboo about $2\frac{1}{2}$ English feet long, and about 1 inch broad. Works of rather secondary importance were inscribed on narrower strips of half the length. Books of quite secondary value were written upon pieces of the size discovered by Dr. Stein at Niya, near Khoten. It was the exception rather than the rule in ancient times for there to be more than one column of characters written upon one slip, and at no period were both sides of the slip ever inscribed with the text of the work, though it appears that notes and memoranda to refresh the memory were sometimes informally jotted down on the back of a slip. The number of ideographs on each piece of bamboo varied with the importance and dignity of the subject, but in no case does it appear to have exceeded thirty. These bamboo laths would therefore resemble our variously-graded modern boxwood paper-knives, and it may be reasonably supposed that four of the smallest would about go to the ounce—say, 100 words to the ounce, or from 1000 to 2000 to the pound, according to the size of the strips. Thus, an average book of one volume as issued by a modern European publisher would weigh the best part of a hundredweight; and, as a matter of fact, we read that the great revolutionary and exceedingly industrious Emperor who destroyed nearly all the Chinese literature in 213 B.C. is distinctly stated to have “weighed himself out exactly a hundredweight of documents to read in one day.”

Previous to the recent discoveries of Dr. Stein, our chief authorities for what an ancient Chinese book was like are the statements of historians of the first, second, and third centuries of our era, when a number of ancient books were unearthed, after centuries of concealment, from tombs and hiding-places. Every single one of these books consisted of bamboo strips of

one of the kinds above described, written in varnish usually, but occasionally also in ink, and tied together in "chapters" or bunches by strings of leather or silk running through one end of the bamboo, very much after the fashion of our "books" of baggage-tickets, as we buy them, bound together by a brass eyelet-hole. It had, up to quite recently, been taken for granted by Europeans, and also, to a certain extent, by Chinese historians, that the knife had been used in ancient times to carve characters upon wood. This erroneous view was the consequence of scribes and secretaries in the old days being described as "clerks of the knife and style." It is now clearly established beyond doubt that the curved knives, each forming the one-sixth segment of a circle, were used for erasing the varnish characters in cases of error, or for cutting notches in the indenture contracts, the form of which will be presently explained.

But, in addition to the books thus formed of piles of bamboo strips tied together by a cord—and often, it seems, enclosed, chapter by chapter, in light bamboo cases or boxes for further protection—slabs of wood, about a foot square, were extensively used for Acts of State, notices, orders, proclamations, and so on, provided not more than 100 words were employed. It is said of Confucius that, when seated in his bullock-cart, he always "bowed to the man carrying squares"; by this is meant that, "whenever he met a policeman or runner carrying on his back or shoulder a number of official documents issuing from the prætorium, he invariably saluted respectfully"—just as the modern Chinese do when an Imperial courier gallops up. There were other wooden and bamboo slabs, of sizes intermediate between the "squares" and the "books," used for various purposes, such as visiting-cards, private letters, summonses, altar names (these last still in use in every Chinese temple, and also in most respectable private dwellings), appointments, warrants, commissions, and so on; but all this, interesting though it be, sheds no new light upon the specific question of writing materials.

The revolutionary Emperor of 213 B.C. did not confine his energies to reading 80,000 words a day, and destroying all the literary men and their works when he found them getting athwart of his ambitious plans; he also did his best to stan-

standardize the irregular forms which the various kingdoms he annexed had given to the ideographs. This led to the immediate simplification of the written character, two new modifications of which at once came into use, one of the two being specially intended for the use of the police and the clerks; this all bears some analogy to the current Babylonian script as compared with the hieroglyphics, or the demotic Egyptian as compared with the ideographs. Meanwhile, the First Emperor's general, Mêng T'ien, was employed in extending the Great Wall of China¹ by means of forced labour; and, finding himself, in consequence, in a region where bamboos were at a discount, conceived the idea of substituting hares' hair for the pencil tip instead of the "chewed" bamboo, or otherwise softened and spread-out bamboo tip, which used to be dipped in varnish or ink.

It had already been the occasional practice in China—and this apparently from the most ancient times—to write with the varnish-stick upon fine silken materials; but this was too expensive a luxury to indulge in for ordinary purposes, and the practice seems to have been limited to funeral banners for stationing before the altar names; pictures, and drawings; first-class ambassadorial commissions; and so on. It is particularly stated that the Imperial seal could only be applied to silk, and not to wood or bamboo; hence, perhaps, the subsequent importation of jade-stone from Khoten. The ancient and unsimplified characters had often been styled "tadpoles," because the nature of the old bamboo style necessitated the tapering off of each stroke, as the style was every few moments taken off the writing material by the scribe. But, later, the simplification of the characters, the 50 per cent. reduction in the number of strokes, the discovery that the hair pencil could mark thick and thin with great elegance, precision, and variety, and the development of the silk industry, stimulated ingenious persons to fashion a kind of "silk shoddy" out of selvages, remnants, and other waste products. It is specifically stated that between A.D. 10 and 20 a statesman named P'ing Yen, otherwise known as the "Eastern Earl" (there was a corresponding Western Earl), displayed great

¹ A florid but well-illustrated book on the Wall has just been published by Dr. W. E. Geil (John Murray).

ability in the manufacture of silk paper, which during the previous two centuries had already, but not very largely, replaced bamboo for writing purposes. This "paper" seems to have been written upon chiefly with ink, and not with varnish, for it is mentioned in connection with two superior qualities of pencil-brush and ink manufactured by two individuals named Chang Chī and Jên Kih respectively. In the year A.D. 105, however, a certain Ts'ai Lun, anticipating, in a way, the discovery of the late Lord Masham, conceived the idea of utilizing the waste products of the silk manufacturer, the "heads" of hemp, old fishing-nets, and cloth rags for the purpose of turning out a much cheaper material than the silk paper hitherto in use; and from that day to this paper, including in the modern forms mulberry paper, bamboo paper, and many other coarser kinds, has slowly but surely superseded all other materials used for writing upon; except, of course, for purposes of elegance and luxury, and except for religious and superstitious purposes, where the old wooden and bamboo tablets are still maintained in use, as stated above.

But, although paper began to displace bamboo very early in our era, the Chinese made use of bamboo and wood concurrently with paper for several centuries; just as, subsequently to the invention of easier forms of writing, they had used writing concurrently with the old tallies or indentures. The modern word for "deed" is still "indenture," as it is with us, although the Chinese indenture was not a serrated or wavy line separating into two parts one piece of parchment, but was a number of notches cut with the segment knife across the line separating two slabs of wood or bamboo which had been placed together; the seller and buyer, the mortgager and mortgagee, each keeping one. The very word *dent* or "tooth" is used by the Chinese historians who describe these contracts or indentures, which in their turn had replaced the still more ancient *quipu* or knotted cord system, used before writing was understood in any form.

When paper, the hair-brush, and the ink-slab had fairly taken root, various enterprising persons set about improving the quality of writing ink, the manufacture of which out of varnish soot, fir charcoal, and other ingredients had already become a fine art in the third century after Christ. The next

step towards printing was taken much sooner than is commonly supposed. It had long been the practice of literary men to take paper rubbings of ancient inscriptions and calligraphic specimens cut into stone. This process, of course, left the characters it was desired to copy white, whilst the body of the paper pressed or rubbed on to the inked surface of the stone was black. The converse plan of cutting away the "Hinterland" of a stone block and allowing the body of an inscription to stand out in a raised form is known to have been practised as early as A.D. 593, when (to use the identical Chinese words) certain "images" (probably of Buddha) and "scriptures" (it is not stated whether Chinese or Sanskrit) were ordered by the emperor of a new and very enterprising dynasty to be "carved upon wooden slabs." During the period 618-906 (dates are not to be procured exactly) it is certain that books of secondary importance were "printed upon paper" from "wooden blocks," and "sold in the book-shops." Curiously enough, it was a Turkish emperor ruling in North China to whom officially belongs the honour of printing the Confucian classics for the first time in 932. He belonged by descent to the tribe of Turks which nearly 300 years later became allied by marriage to Genghiz Khan; and, in fact, Marco Polo mentions the tribe in his chapter upon Tenduc (North Shan Si), but mistakes the "King" of this tribe for "Prester John." The Turkish emperor's name was Maokiré (? Bavkil), but he is more commonly known, of course, by his Chinese appellation of Li Sz-yüan. A statesman of his, naturally with his approval, "revised and corrected the Nine Classics; had them carved upon wooden blocks; printed, sold, and circulated them throughout the empire"; the statesman's name was Fêng Tao. This Turkish dynasty was but an ephemeral one, belonging to the second of what are known as the "Five (Short) Dynasties." The founder of the last of these five, in or about 954, fully carried out the work thus begun in 932, and "from this time scholars were absolved from the heavy labour of making fair copies of books." Movable types of baked clay are mentioned during the reign period 1041-1049; an iron slaie or framework was placed over a smooth board, and the types were dropped through holes in the slaie upon the board. Movable types of copper were in use during the dynasty which preceded the

reigning Manchus—*i. e.* during the period 1368–1643 ; but no precise dates are obtainable.

The museum of our own Record Office contains both indentures and split notched tallies similar to those of old China, and the modern bamboo fan was evidently an outcome of a “chapter” strung upon an eyelet. Even now it is the fashion in China to write poems or other *belles-lettres* in single columns upon fan blades. A beautiful specimen of the “altar name” was recently (in 1908) to be seen in Lord Curzon’s collection at the Bethnal Green Museum.

P.S.—Since the above chapter first appeared, public attention has been directed to the late Dr. S. W. Bushell’s remarkable bronze bowl (date 590 B.C.), with an inscription of 538 words in ancient character. Persons desirous of comparing modern character with this unquestionably genuine specimen of ancient script are recommended to visit the Victoria and Albert Museum and inquire for the bowl, which is an historical document of the highest value.

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